

THE

Thirteenth Annual Report

OF THE

AMERICAN & FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PRESENTED AT NEW-YORK, MAY 11, 1853;

WITH

THE ADDRESSES AND RESOLUTIONS.



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Annual Report.*

AMERICAN Slavery is at war with the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, natural justice, and Christianity. Agitation on the subject will not, therefore, cease, while free discussion is allowed, while a free press exists, while Puritanism and Free Democracy are prized, while love to God and man prevail, until the curse is removed from the Church and Government of this country, and all its citizens are equal before the law. Short-sighted are the politicians who aim to suppress inquiry, and impotent are the divines in their unholy alliance with them. Nature cries aloud against the inhumanities of slavery; Free Democracy abjures the hateful system; and Free Christianity recoils from its leprous touch. That it should exist, extend, and flourish in a nation planted by the excellent of the earth, and in opposition to the principles of republicanism and Christianity, excites the marvel and arouses the grief and indignation of good men throughout the world. Nothing could exceed this marvel, except the astonishment that would pervade all countries to know that the people of the United States, descended from such forefathers, and adopting such a frame of government, had become so lost to patriotism, philanthropy and religion, as to acquiesce in the piratical conduct of a handful of their number, who have seized upon one seventh of the men, women, and children of the land, and doomed them to perpetual, unrequited, brutal servitude, ignorance and heathenism.

Indifferent as a majority of the American people now are to the claims of humanity, honor and justice, and apostate as are a large portion of politicians, ministers, and church members to the principles of republicanism and Christianity, with reference to the treatment of the people of color, it is to us a cause of profound gratitude to that Great Being who bore our fathers across the ocean, as it were, on eagles'

* THE reader will perceive that matter is introduced into this Report, in some instances, of a later date than the Annual Meeting. So much attention was necessarily devoted to the "Jane Trainer case" by the Corresponding Secretary, that he was obliged to postpone completing the Report of the Committee until an unusually late date; and it was thought best, under these circumstances, to introduce some facts that had come to the knowledge of the Committee while the Report was in a state of preparation.

wings, to plant freedom of mind and body on this continent, and who sustained them in their struggle for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that He has raised up a company of men and women to contend for truth and freedom against the combined influence of false Democracy and impure Christianity, and to wrestle "against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places." Thanks to God for all the success He has given to efforts begun and continued in his name, in accordance with his Spirit, and in reliance upon his promises !

It is obvious to every intelligent and candid looker-on, that the Anti-slavery cause, in spite of the sneers of opponents, the denunciations of men in power, and the designs of the crafty, is steadily pursuing its march to a glorious consummation. Its progress may be retarded by the diabolical cupidity, cruelty and knavery of demons in human shape, who kidnap, enslave, or torture their unoffending and helpless fellow-men in foreign lands, on the high seas, during the coffee-march between the States of this Union, or on the cane fields and cotton plantations ; by unprincipled politicians, who rise to power on pledges to befriend and enlarge the area of despotism ; or by venal presses, prostituted pulpits, corrupt courts, and the multiform classes whose god is mammon. It has been so retarded ; but the seeming triumph of these enemies of the human race is transient : "He that sitteth in the heavens shall laugh ; the Lord shall have them in derision." Truth is mighty, and it will prevail. The rights of man will be regarded. Oppression will cease. Both the body and mind will be unshackled. "The expectation of the poor shall not perish." The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

We propose to offer, in addition to the doings of the Executive Committee, an outline of what has been done the past year, in this country and abroad, with reference to SLAVERY and the SLAVE-TRADE, by their friends and enemies. We must restrict ourselves, of course, chiefly to the external relations of these enormities. And even then, we shall be able to present only a part of the atrocious acts that have been perpetrated in sustaining, strengthening, and extending slavery, as most of them are done in secret, visible only to the eyes of the perpetrators and Him who will bring them to judgment. Neither shall we be able to exhibit all that has been done for the mitigation and overthrow of the great iniquity. We cannot know the numerous private or even recorded deeds of those who have labored in season and out of season to weaken or sunder the cords that have bound man in bondage to his fellow-man. The Almighty alone, besides those who have labored and prayed for the downfall of the hateful system, has witnessed the toils of the 'good Samaritans' who have bound up the wounds of the robbed and despoiled

ones that fell among thieves ; or the efforts of those who have broken the jaws of the wicked, and plucked the spoil out of his teeth ; or those who have in various ways weakened an institution so disgraceful and ruinous to the American people.

The Address to Anti-slavery Christians, prepared by a member of this Committee, alluded to in the last Annual Report, was circulated in pamphlet form and in the newspapers, and favorable responses were received from several influential persons of different denominations. The Committee, however, were disappointed that no more favorable replies were received, nor greater pecuniary aid proffered. A large edition of the Annual Report was published, and favorably received. The Committee are satisfied that these annual histories are not only at present useful to considerable numbers of lecturers, editors, ministers, legislators, missionaries, and anti-slavery writers, but will be valuable hereafter to those who follow us. The Secretary attended the Convention of the Free Democracy at Pittsburgh, in August last ; delivered two addresses in Ohio ; and afterwards visited Bangor, in the State of Maine, to attend an Anti-slavery missionary meeting, and also the Convention at Albany, October 5th. An impulse was given to the Anti-slavery cause at all these meetings.

Subsequently the Secretary prepared two pamphlets, entitled "Indian Missions," and "The American Home Missionary Society and Slavery," which have been widely circulated, both in this country and England. He has devoted much time to gathering information respecting the mutilations of English and American publications by publishers, the American Tract Society, the American Sunday-school Union, ecclesiastical bodies, and the expurgations of anti-slavery sentiments by authors and others, to suit publications to the Southern market, with a view to its being published at some future day. He has also written for several anti-slavery and other newspapers during the year, besides attending to cases in court that involved the rights and liberty of persons claimed as slaves, or otherwise. Some of these cases will be alluded to more particularly in the Report or the Appendix.

No small part of the Secretary's time has been employed in furnishing information to writers and lecturers on anti-slavery subjects, and in superintending the preparation and publication of anti-slavery books and pamphlets. These, and other matters connected with the cause, would have been attended to more thoroughly if his labors had not been partially suspended for a time, from the pressing duties devolved upon him by domestic affliction and bereavement.

The Committee have published an important pamphlet written by one of their members, Judge Jay, entitled "Letters respecting the Amer-

ican Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and the American Tract Society ; by William Jay."

This was printed in the New-York *Tribune*, and afterwards in pamphlet form. In both forms it has been widely circulated. An edition has also been printed in London.

The ANTI-SLAVERY DEPOSITORY, connected with the office of the Secretary, has been an efficient instrumentality during the past year in promoting the good of the cause. Large numbers of books and pamphlets have been sold to colporteurs and others. Upwards of ten thousand dollars' worth of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" have been sold during the year. The Committee have published the AMERICAN SLAVE CODE, by William Goodell, the first edition of which was long since exhausted. They also made arrangements to have it published simultaneously in London, where it is circulating with good effect.

Just before the Annual Meeting, a telegraphic dispatch was received by the Corresponding Secretary, to the effect that Rose Cooper, of Mobile, had left Cincinnati for New-York, with a little colored child named Jane Trainer, *en route* for California, having, as was supposed, kidnapped the child. Immediate steps were taken to find the party in this city, and information was sent to the father of the child, a free man of color, Charles W. Trainer, who had pursued the woman to Cincinnati, and who was anxiously waiting in that city. He soon arrived. Legal process, which had been previously commenced, was continued, until, after great difficulties, the father obtained possession of his little daughter. The principles involved in this high-handed attempt to carry off a child, when claimed by its father, are such, that it is deemed expedient to give a narration of the facts, together with the admirable opinion of the judge, who did himself so much honor while presiding in the case, and in the judgment rendered.*

The Committee will now proceed to sketch the history of the Anti-slavery cause for the past year, in as concise a manner as the materials allow ; and first they ask attention to

POLITICAL AGITATION.

The records of the past year afford evidence that the political agitation of the Slave question has not ceased, and that the "*finality*" measures of 1850 were not *final*.

In Congress, though the debates have been less exciting than at some

* See Appendix. It should be mentioned also, that the four or five weeks' attention devoted to this case by the Corresponding Secretary, assisted by Dr. Pennington and other friends of the child, together with his indisposition, incurred during the proceedings, have greatly delayed the preparation and publication of this Report.

previous periods, there has been enough said and done to show that the vexed controversy remains a fixed element in the politics of the country, and cannot be excluded from our National Councils.

A petition of the "Religious Society of Friends in New-England, asking that the laws for the delivery of fugitive slaves be repealed," was presented by Hon. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, in the Senate of the United States, May 26, 1852. After a brief explanation of its contents by Mr. Sumner, and some conversation between several senators, it was laid on the table, by a vote of 40 to 10; the nays being, Messrs. Borland, Chase, Davis, Dodge of Wisconsin, Hale, Hamlin, Seward, Sumner, Walker, and Wade.*

Into the House of Representatives, the same agitation had been previously introduced by the slaveholders themselves, in presenting a Resolution having for its object the reëffirmation by Congress of the "finality" of the "Compromise Measures" of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave Bill.† This movement was designed to bear upon the Conventions about to be held for nominating a President and Vice-President of the United States. The absurdity of reënacting a statute already on the statute-book, for political purposes, was too glaring to escape exposure, as was also the unconstitutionality of attempting to forestall *future* legislation by *past* enactments, or "resolving" that an act *now* in force should never hereafter be *repealed*!

In the Senate, July 27, 1852, "Mr. Sumner, after giving notice that he intended to call it up as early as possible, offered the following Resolution:

"Resolved, That the Committee on the Judiciary be requested to consider the expediency of reporting a bill for the immediate repeal of the Act of Congress approved Sept. 18, 1850, usually known as the Fugitive Slave Act."

The motion lay over to the next day, under the rules, when it was called up by the mover. Mr. Mason, of Virginia, objected to its reception, and demanded the yeas and nays, which were ordered. Mr. Brooke, of Mississippi, said that such a bill would "dissolve the Union." Mr. Charlton, of Georgia, said the same. Mr. Shields, of Illinois, said he should vote against the Resolution, but was in favor of Mr. Sumner's being heard. A hearing was not granted him, the Senate refusing to take up the bill by a vote of 32 to 10. Yeas: Messrs. Clarke, Davis, Dodge of Wisconsin, Foot, Hamlin, Seward, Shields, Sumner, Upham, and Wade.‡

* *National Era*, June 3, 1852.

† We do not, unless inadvertently, call this a Law, and it is hinted to us that it is undeserving the appellation of an Act, as we should as resolutely oppose unconstitutional encroachments as did our fathers, who always invariably spoke of the "BOSTON PORT BILL."

‡ *National Era*, Aug 5, 1852.

But a way was providentially opened near the end of the session for Mr. Sumner to reach the subject through such a medium that the consideration of it could not be avoided, nor his right of free speech concerning it be wrested from him.

"The Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill being under consideration, the Committee on Finance moved the following amendment :—

"That where the ministerial officers of the United States have or shall incur extraordinary expenses in executing the laws thereof, the payment of which is not specially provided for, the President is authorized to allow the payment thereof, under the special taxation of the District or Circuit Court of the district in which the said services have or shall be rendered, to be paid from the appropriation for defraying the expenses of the Judiciary."

The object of this amendment was not unobserved by the vigilant Senator from Massachusetts, who promptly moved the following amendment to the amendment :—

"Provided that no such allowance shall be authorized for any expenses incurred in executing the Fugitive Slave Act of Sept. 18, 1850, for the surrender of fugitives from service or labor ; which said act is hereby repealed."

The question of repeal was now fairly before the Senate, without asking its leave, and the long-deferred speech of Mr. Sumner had to be heard, whether the Senate pleased or no ! Thus it is that God's providence overrides and overrules the counsels of his confederate enemies, and puts them to shame. The masterly speech of Mr. Sumner, rarely equalled in power of eloquence, has done and is still doing its destined work ; and will live in sunlight when Webster's famous 7th of March, 1850, speech, will seek friendly oblivion.* This is none the less certain on account of the vote in the Senate by which the amendment of Mr. Sumner, supported by Messrs. Chase and Hale, was rejected, 47 to 4. The yeas were : Messrs. Chase, Hale, Sumner, and Wade.† Their testimony will be remembered in time to come.

The continued subserviency of Congress to the pecuniary demands of the slaveholders, however preposterous and degrading, will be seen in the disposal of the case familiarly known as the *Watson claim* by the House of Representatives. Gen. Jessup, it seems, in the prosecution of the Florida war, in 1836, entered into a contract with the Creek nation of Indians, who agreed to furnish six hundred warriors to assist in murdering

* "And now, while I have been writing these lines, I have received the speech he has lately delivered in Congress on the bearing of the Fugitive Slave Law, which, by the closeness of its logic and the masculine vigor of its eloquence, proves to me how all the perfections of his mind have grown up to, and been dilated with, the inspiration of the cause which he has now made his own."—*Lord Carlisle's Preface to an English edition of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."*

† *National Era*, Sept. 2, 1852.

the Seminoles and capturing the slaves. For their services they were to receive pay and rations, "and all the plunder they might capture from the enemy." A part of this "*plunder*" consisted in slaves, whose names, ages, and sex were duly registered. *James C. Watson*, of Georgia, purchased of the Indians their claim to the "*plunder*." He failed to get the slaves, however, until they were landed, with the Indians, west of Arkansas. Thither he sent his agents, with orders from the War Department to all our military officers in that region, to assist him in catching the negroes, provided they could do it without bloodshed. This could not be done; and Watson, failing to get his hands upon the negroes, modestly asked *Congress* to pay him *for all the negroes he couldn't catch!* The claim had been pending some twelve or fifteen years. The Committee on Indian Affairs reported in its favor, and the Committee on Claims reported a bill for Mr. Watson's relief, which came before the House. A number of points presented themselves for decision:

1. Did the term "*plunder*" include the "slaves?" The House voted that it did, the following *Northern* members voting in the affirmative, viz:—Messrs. Appleton and Seudder, of Massachusetts; Brooks, Dean, Hawes, Schermerhorn, Sutherland, and Martin, New-York; Hibbard, Peaselee, New-Hampshire; Chandler, Khuns, McNair, Andrew Parker, Pennsylvania; Stuart, Penniman, Michigan; Taylor, Ohio; Price, New-Jersey.

2. Whether a brigadier-general had power to convert *prisoners of war* into *slaves*? These Northern Representatives voted that he had!

3. Whether such an inhuman and barbarous act ought to be sanctioned by a Congress of "professed republicans and Christians?" The same vote decided this in the affirmative.

4. What has the nation to do with this purchase of slaves by Watson from the Creek Indians? To this it was replied, that our Commissioner of Indian Affairs *approved* the sale, and *therefore* the nation must make up Watson's loss; and these Northern men so voted.

The bill was opposed by Mr. Dickey, of Beaver, Pa., and was advocated by Mr. Stuart, of Michigan, passed, and sent to the Senate, where it appears to have been postponed and not taken up afterwards.

Northern citizens may learn from this case what the North has to do with slavery; where their own money goes; who disposes of it, and for what purposes; and whether or no it is best to carry the slave question to the ballot-box, and withdraw support from candidates and parties uncommitted on the slave question or taking sides against freedom.*

* Washington Correspondent of the *Cleveland True Democrat*, as copied into the *National Anti-slavery Standard*, New-York, May 27, 1852.

Another item of Northern expenditure by the aid of Northern votes for the support of the peculiar institution, was revealed in the proceedings of the Senate about the same time. In a debate on the Appropriation Bill, Mr. Hunter offered the following amendment:—

“For defraying the expenses of the Supreme Court and District Court of the United States, including the District of Columbia; and also for jurors and witnesses, and for aid of the funds arising from fines, forfeitures, and expenses incurred during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1852, and previous years; and likewise for defraying the expenses of suits in which the United States are concerned, and prosecutions for offenses committed against the United States, and for the apprehension and safe keeping of prisoners, *in addition to former appropriations, NINETY THOUSAND DOLLARS.*”

This was evidently designed to provide for the expense of arresting and trying fugitive slaves, and conducting prosecutions of persons charged with the crime of assisting them. Senator Hale instituted some scrutinizing inquiries concerning the nature and disbursement of these appropriations. He wished to know *how much* of it was wanted for enforcing the Fugitive Slave Act. Mr. Hunter said that claims, in all, had been presented to the amount of \$150,000, but he had cut them down to \$90,000. He added:

“The Comptroller says that, during the present fiscal year, the expenses have been much increased, probably from \$30,000 to \$40,000, by prosecution growing out of the Fugitive Slave Law in New-York and Pennsylvania, and prosecutions in New-York and Louisiana, growing out of the violation of the neutrality laws.”

The Senate concluded to foot the bill, and the amendment was adopted. Mr. Hale succeeded, however, in securing an amendment precluding *officers* of the Government from receiving pay as *witnesses*.*

The temper of the Senate towards the members of that body whose manly course was felt to be a rebuke of their servility, appears in their action in December last, by which the standing rule of electing committees by ballot was disposed of for the purpose of recommending the election of a list agreed upon in a caucus, from which list the names of HALE, SUMNER, and CHASE were ostracized; for the reason, avowed in the Senate by Mr. Bright, that those gentlemen were considered “outside of any healthy political organization in this country.” Though this was intended to disgrace them, it will prove a testimony to their fidelity, and constitute a monument of the proscriptive meanness of their opponents.†

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Af-

* *National Anti-slavery Standard*, June 3, 1852; and *National Era*, May 27, 1852.

† Senator Seward had previously declined being on any committee.

fairs, made a report at the first session of the last Congress, in favor of the claim of the Spanish Minister for fifty thousand dollars' indemnity for the Spaniards who brought to this country—or rather were brought here by them—the *Amistad* Africans. He succeeded, on one occasion, in having it made the special order for a distant day; but when the day arrived, other things occupied the Senate, and it lost its place. He proposed informally on several other occasions, at both sessions, to take it up, but was prevented by the avowed opposition of the Free Democratic Senators, and their determination to discuss it.

At almost every session of Congress, one or more of the slaveholding members, influenced by the recommendation of the President of the United States, attempts to get a bill of indemnity passed for these scoundrel Spaniards. We trust that every member of Congress who loves humanity or prizes justice will keep a vigilant eye upon future attempts to rob the treasury for the purpose of undoing, virtually, the righteous decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in their decision to give liberty to the unfortunate Mendians, who were more entitled to indemnification than their oppressors. Slaveholders doubtless would be pleased to have compensation awarded to their brethren in Cuba who brought Cinquez and his companions from their home in Africa, or to the pirates who, in attempting to hold them in slavery, lost, by the act of a merciful Providence, possession of their victims: but the representatives of the free States should be held to a strict account if they attempt to gratify the slaveholders of the country at the expense of justice and equity.

The arguments of Messrs. Adams and Baldwin in this celebrated case demonstrated the utter groundlessness of the claim of the Spaniards for the Africans, and consequently the groundlessness of their claim for indemnification. Members of Congress would do well to refresh their minds with these able arguments, and also with the statement of facts made by the late Hon. John Quincy Adams, in the House of Representatives, March 2, 1847, and the able speech of Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, in the House of Representatives, against the claim of the Spaniards, delivered April 18, 1844; for which see "*Speeches in Congress by Joshua R. Giddings.*" Boston: Published by John P. Jewett & Co., and New-York, by Lewis J. Bates, 48 Beekman street.

The aggressions of the slave power have been manfully resisted by a number of resolute and able champions of liberty in both Houses. Messrs. Chase, Hale, Sumner, in the Senate; Messrs. Giddings, Durkee, Mann, Allen, Townsend, and Rantoul, in the House, with others in both branches of the National Legislature, have merited the thanks of their country. It is matter of regret that the nation is deprived of the valu-

able services of Mr. Rantoul by his unexpected decease, and that some of the other distinguished men just named are not members of the next Congress. We rejoice, however, in the accession to the number of the friends of freedom in the House by the election of Gerrit Smith, a man whom all patriots and philanthropists should delight to honor.

The Presidential Election, in its connection with the action of the two rival Conventions for nominating candidates, presents another humiliating picture of the position of Northern freemen, blinded by their attachment to political parties, and betrayed by their unscrupulous leaders into the support of men and measures which their sober judgment must disapprove, their best sympathies revolt against, and their consciences condemn. If it be said (as it sometimes is) that there is a more deplorable slavery than that of the chattelized negro, the illustration may perhaps be found in the records that follow:—

The Democratic Convention for nominating a President and Vice-President, assembled at Baltimore early in June, resulted, on the fiftieth ballot, in the selection of Franklin Pierce and William R. King. A “*Platform*” for the party and its candidate was also erected, but not before the nomination was first made, lest the consciences or the self-respect of a portion of the delegates should revolt at their own inconsistency, as professed friends of liberty, in selecting a candidate to grace such a platform. This arrangement proved an accommodation to those who found it consistent to quit the Convention immediately on making the nomination, thus dodging a vote on the Platform, some of them going home to oppose it, and others to protest against it among their constituents. By this means, the Platform, though large enough to hold the candidate, was proved quite too small to hold all the members of the Convention, or all who subsequently voted for the candidate.

The Platform is as follows:

“That Congress has no power, under the Constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of every thing appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

“*Resolved*, That the foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts known as the Compromise measures settled by the last Congress—the act for reclaiming fugitives from service and labor included; which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

"Resolved, That the Democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the Slavery question, under whatever shape or color the attempt may be made."^{*}

The Whig Convention for Presidential nominations was soon after held in the same city. As though emulous of exhibiting a still more bold and defiant hostility to the liberties of their country, and greater subserviency to the slave power, they adopted a similar "platform" *before* the balloting began, as had been dictated by a Southern caucus the night previous. Still there were sixty-six votes in the Convention recorded against it. The "platform," as embodied in the 8th Resolution, is as follows :

"That the series of acts of the 31st Congress, known as the Compromise, including the fugitive Slave Law, are received and acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States, as a final settlement, in principle and substance, of the dangerous and exciting subjects which they embrace; and so far as the Fugitive Slave Law is concerned, we will maintain the same, and insist upon its strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against the evasion of the laws on the one hand, and the abuse of their powers on the other—not impairing their present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of the questions thus settled, as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts to continue or renew such agitation, *whenever, wherever, or however* the attempt may be made; and we will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party, and the integrity of the Union."[†]

The balloting finally resulted in the selection of Gen. Winfield Scott and Wm. A. Graham, as the Whig candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States.

Some instructive particulars may be noticed in the proceedings of these rival Conventions. They vied with each other in their subserviency to the slave power, and yet they both rejected the prominent statesmen of their respective parties, including the political leaders of the last quarter of a century; men of renown as senators, diplomatists, generals, heads of departments, presenting the highest claims on their respective parties, all of whom had humbled themselves to the lowest point of degradation as aspirants for the honors denied them—the *very* men, for the most part, through whose exertions and influence the lauded "Compromise measures" had been carried! And yet they were cast aside *because* the odor of their efficient servility had so entered into the nostrils of the people, that the sagacious instincts of the managers of both the Conventions *dared* not risk the experiment of nominating them! The idolized name of HENRY CLAY might have stood at the head of the

^{*} *National Era*, June 10, 1852.

[†] *National Era*, June 24, 1852. Also 21st An. Rep. Mass. A. S. Soc. (There are verbal variations in the copies, without changing the meaning.)

list, (as once before,) had he been living. The half-deified DANIEL WEBSTER did stand there, but his disappointment at the result hastened his exit. Mr. Fillmore, the acting President, was on the same list, along with Cass, Buchanan, Marcy, and others. These men, who had bartered their manhood for the loaves and fishes of office, were not only deprived of the boon they most coveted, but, by a singular arrangement of distributive justice, were not even suffered to enjoy the poor honor of a partisan passport for the field of competition.

The old leaders of both the parties, so far as their great men were accounted such, were bowed aside, as not competent to be placed in a position where they could act most efficiently for the permanency of the Union, because they had already done *so much!* Men less publicly known for the flagrant type of their patriotic conservatism would command more votes; and hence the selection of Messrs. Scott and Pierce, only one of whom could obtain the prize, and the other must of course fail! A lesson for unscrupulous aspirants is wrapped up in the record; and even the successful incumbent of the highest office may be well admonished of the tenure by which his unexpected position is to be held. Let him beware of bowing *too* low to the power that has enthroned him!—the rock upon which his predecessor, Millard Fillmore, made shipwreck.

The deaths of Clay and Webster, coming so closely upon the deaths of their long-cherished hopes, gave the solemn impress of eternity and retribution to the scene. Alas for the statesmanship and the statesmen that know only *the present*, and forget or overlook, in their calculations, the *first principles* that enter into the idea of the immutability of God, as well as of the stability and security of man!

The Free Democracy Convention for nominations was held at Pittsburgh in August, and John P. Hale, of New-Hampshire, and George W. Julian, of Indiana, were nominated for President and Vice-President. The "platform" of the Free Democracy, so far as the Slave question is concerned, is described, mainly, in the following Resolutions:

"That no permanent settlement of the Slavery question can be looked for, except in the practical recognition of the truth that slavery is sectional and freedom national; by the total separation of the General Government from slavery, and the exercise of its legitimate and constitutional influence on the side of freedom, by leaving to the States the whole subject of slavery and the extradition of fugitives from service.

"That slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man, the enormity of which no human enactment or usage can make right, and that Christianity, humanity and patriotism alike demand its abolition.

"That the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 is repugnant to the Constitution, to the principles of the common law, to the spirit of Christianity, and to the sentiments of the civilized world. We therefore deny its binding force upon the American people, and we demand its immediate and total repeal.

"That the doctrine that any human law is a 'finality,' and not subject to modification or repeal, is not in accordance with the creed of the founders of our government, and is dangerous to the liberties of the people."*

These propositions, with exception of the first above quoted, were doubtless in accordance with the views and feelings of all the Abolitionists, of all organizations, in the country. But large numbers, including members of both the National Anti-slavery Societies, objected very strongly to this. In the Pittsburgh Convention, this dissent was expressed by the presentation of a Report from a minority of the Committee from which the proposition objected against was excluded. Some *further* views were likewise introduced, the most distinctive of which (in relation to slavery) were the following :

"That our new party, inasmuch as its aim will be the impartial and full realization of the idea of a just civil government, will faithfully endeavor, to the extent of its jurisdiction and power, to protect all persons (irrespective of sex or color) in the enjoyment of their political rights.

"That not only do we condemn and trample upon the 'Fugitive Slave Law,' and upon every other enactment for slavery, but we hold all forms of piracy, and especially the most atrocious and abominable one of slavery, to be entirely incapable of legalization."†

This Report is said to have been enthusiastically received by a respectable minority of the Convention, and its sanguine supporters believe that if time could have been given for its full and deliberate consideration, it would have been adopted by a majority of the votes. However this may have been, it is agreed that the Convention was numerous, attended, very enthusiastic in its spirit, and disposed to go to the farthest point deemed proper and feasible, for the total and speedy abolition of slavery.

The call for the National Convention at Pittsburgh, signed by Samuel Lewis, Chairman, did not give entire satisfaction. The Convention at Cleveland, the year previous, had, on the motion of Lewis Tappan, appointed the National Committee, and it was intended that the call should include ALL THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM. But it was addressed to "Free Soilers" only. This would have prevented many Anti-slavery men who had not agreed to all the resolutions adopted at Buffalo from attending, had not assurances been given, by the Chairman and others, that the call would be construed to include all, of every party and sentiment, who went for the abolition and non-extension of slavery.

At a Convention of the "Free Soil Party" at Worcester, Mass., a little previous, a resolution was passed with great unanimity, embracing a doc-

* *National Era*, August 26, 1852.

† *National Era*, August 26, 1852.

trine that had not previously been avowed by this distinctive body, in the following words :

"Resolved, That slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man ; and that Christianity, humanity and patriotism alike demand its abolition by those who have the constitutional and legal right to abolish it."

In the declaration of principles and measures, as first reported at Pittsburgh, were sentiments that a considerable minority could not agree with. Their objections were stated by Gerrit Smith, who presented a minority report. It was feared by some that the difference of opinion might lead to a separation. To prevent this, if possible, Lewis Tappan, with the approbation of leading men in the majority and minority, moved that the fourth resolution in the majority report be stricken out, viz. :

"That the early history of our Government clearly shows the settled policy to have been, not to extend, nationalize and encourage, but to limit, localize and discourage SLAVERY ; and to this policy, which should never have been departed from, the Government ought forthwith to return."

He also moved that the fourteenth resolution be stricken out, with a view to introduce a substitute, viz. :

"That slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man, the enormity of which no law nor usage can sanction or mitigate, and that Christianity and humanity alike demand its abolition."

The substitute for the above resolution was the following :

"That as American slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man, it is, in the highest sense, invalid, illegal, not law, either Divine or human, and is, therefore, utterly void and of no force, before God or man."

The mover stated, that he had been assured by Mr. Gerrit Smith that if the fourth resolution should be stricken out, and the substitute proposed for the fourteenth resolution be agreed to, he, and those acting with him, would cease all opposition to the report of the majority, so far as slavery was concerned.*

It was agreed to strike out the fourth resolution ; but on the question to strike out the fourteenth and adopt the substitute, violent opposition was made by two or three members, and sundry amendments offered, after which it was voted that the following be adopted in lieu of the original resolution and the substitute :

"That slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man, which no law or usage can make right, and that Christianity, humanity and patriotism alike demand its abolition."

* Mr. Smith and his friends overlooked, at the time, resolution No. 8 in the majority report, which to them was objectionable for the same reasons that were offered to Resolution No. 4.

The fourth resolution was particularly objectionable to those who believed that the Government had nothing to do with slavery, and that after undoing what it had unconstitutionally done in sustaining and extending it, Government ought to cease all interference with the subject.

As the acquiescence of the minority was pledged, on the ground that, in addition to striking out the fourth resolution, the substitute to the fourteenth should be adopted, the course taken by the Convention left them to act freely, to support the platform or not; but it was allowed, on all sides, that the platform was the best that had ever been adopted by the Free Soilers or the Free Democracy.

Needless alarm was given, as it seemed to many, about the introduction of the word "illegal," for, in its connection, it seems to follow as a sequence to the expression, in which all were agreed, that "Slavery is a sin against God and a crime against man." As sin cannot be Christianized, so neither can crime be *legalized*, in the true sense of LAW.*

ISSUE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST.

The issue of the Presidential contest is among the most remarkable in our history. At the time of the nominations, and for some time afterwards, the most shrewd and intelligent politicians were in doubt in respect to the comparative strength of the candidates. The friends of General Scott were quite confident of his success. His military reputation was in his favor with the mass of the people—the element to which four of our previous Presidents had been so deeply indebted, and against which no claims on the score of civil qualifications, statesmanship, or learning had ever been successfully urged. The competitor of Scott, though a general, was without military renown, and, though he had been a senator, was scarcely known by name to the mass of the voters, to whom the name of Scott had long been familiar. Notwithstanding this, the official returns, as announced in Congress, (Feb. 9, 1852,) showed 254 electoral votes for Franklin Pierce, and only 42 for Gen. Winfield Scott.†

Different reasons will be given for this result. It may be said, by his Anti-slavery supporters, that Scott received the votes of only two slave States, (Kentucky, 12, and Tennessee, 12,) and that this should be attributed to the disaffection of the slaveholders, which they regard as his certificate to the honor of having been less servile than his competitor. But to this it may be answered that he likewise received the votes of only two free States, (Vermont, 5, and Massachusetts, 13,) being 6 less

* For the views of Mr. Smith, and those who agree with him, see the chapter on the "Illegality of Slavery," in another place.

† *National Era*, November 18, 1852.

Northern votes than Southern. The "platforms" of the two parties were substantially the same, and it would be difficult to show any marked difference in the declared opinions of the two candidates. It is doubtless true that the previous course of Gen. Pierce in the Senate gained Southern votes for him; and that the protest of a large minority of the Whig Convention against its "platform," with the fact of his support by Senator Seward and others, operated against Gen. Scott at the South. Yet it may be doubted whether these combined causes were sufficient to account, in full, for the result. The remaining item in the solution may perhaps be found in the final explosion and failure of that long-cherished policy of the Whig leaders, to which they had been much indebted for two Presidential victories—that of carrying, like the Colonization Society, a Janus' face, one side for the North, and one for the South. Two instances of success in such a policy were quite enough to have been counted upon. The old caution against third experiments in sleight-of-hand tricks should have been heeded by them. The fate of the Whig party stands a beacon to politicians of all parties. A firm, united, and consistent stand, on one side or the other, (whether in support of the right or the wrong,) should be understood to be the indispensable condition of the support of a shrewd people.

It appears to have been upon this policy that the Democratic party acted in the late contest; and to this they owe their success. Yet it is true that their espousal of a diabolical cause, if persisted in, insures their future and overwhelming ruin and infamy. True and permanent success comes only from unflinching fidelity to the TRUE and the RIGHT. For the present, the dominant party enjoys its chosen reward—the victory and the spoils. The day of reformation or of retribution must come.

The claim of President Pierce to his official position rests on services like the following :

On February 2, 1833, he voted in favor of Mr. Chinn's Resolution (in opposition to J. Q. Adams) to lay the Abolition petitions on the table. He voted in the same manner on a similar motion, December 16, 1835. Two days afterwards he did the same, and preceded his vote by an advocacy of that course. The same question drew from him the same vote, Dec. 21st. Feb. 8, 1836, he voted for Mr. Patton's motion to reconsider the vote referring a petition, and on the 16th he denounced the Anti-slavery petitions and the Anti-slavery movement. Feb. 23, he voted against a motion of Mr. Adams to refer to the Select Committee on the subject, a petition to abolish slavery in the Federal District. May 18, 1836, he voted for the gag of Mr. Pinckney, having been a member of the Committee that reported it, and having advocated it before the House.

On Jan. 18, 1837, he voted for the gag of Mr. Hawes. On the 11th of Feb., 1837, he voted for the Resolution that "Slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the people of the United States by the Constitution."

In 1837, Mr. Pierce entered the Senate. On Dec. 18, 1837, he was in favor of nominally *receiving* an Anti-slavery petition, (it having become odious to do otherwise,) and of then laying it on the table. Dec. 7, he supported the resolutions of John C. Calhoun on the subject, with incidental exceptions. Jan. 3, 1838, he voted against receiving petitions against the annexation of Texas. The next day, he voted against printing the Resolutions of the Legislature of Vermont on that subject. Feb. 6, 1838, he coöperated with Mr. Calhoun in applying the gag to Mr. Morris, of Ohio.

With his public course in the House and the Senate, the speeches and letters of Mr. Pierce on other occasions correspond. He earnestly opposed, in New-Hampshire, his old political friend, John P. Hale. On a public occasion he avowed his approbation of the Compromise measures, and, in a letter to Major Lalley, May 27, just before the Nominating Whig Convention, 1852, shown by him to members of the Convention, he distinctly advocated "The Fugitive Slave Law."* And, like his competitor, Gen. Scott, he accepted the nomination of his party, approving its "Platform."

A few years hence, it will almost seem incredible that such a candidate, with such claims on a free people, and connected with such a political platform, could have been elected President of the United States by a party calling themselves Democratic, by Northern votes, and with such an overwhelming majority. The solution connects itself with that of the Whig defeat, and with the prevalence of the singular delusion that the Whig and Democratic parties must, of necessity, divide the people's votes, there being no possibility of a third nomination that could command public respect. When two rival parties sink so low, it should be the high mission of a free people to teach them that *neither* of them can succeed. This lesson, though it now lies in the future, must soon command public attention.

The Free Democracy, at the late election, cast 155,849 votes for John P. Hale, instead of the 62,163 cast by the Liberty Party in 1844 for James G. Birney, and the Free Soil vote of 291,378 for Martin Van Buren in 1848.

The Inaugural of President Pierce, March 4, 1853, afforded him an

* For the particulars of the preceding statement, see *National Era* of June 17, 1852.

opportunity to express anew his position, which he did in the following terms :—

“I believe that involuntary servitude, as it exists in different States in this Confederacy, is recognized by the Constitution. I believe that it stands like any other admitted right, and that the States where it exists are entitled to efficient remedies to enforce the constitutional provisions. I hold that the laws of 1850, commonly called the ‘Compromise Measures,’ are strictly constitutional, and to be unhesitatingly carried into effect,” &c.*

This harmonizes with his course in both Houses of Congress, and with his acceptance of the Baltimore Platform. How well it agrees with the dictates of his own conscience, will appear from the following :—On the 2d day of January, 1852, in a speech at Boston Center, N. H., he had said that the “Fugitive Slave Law of 1850” differed in no important particular from that of 1793.” In answer to inquiries publicly propounded to him, he admitted that the act was not consistent with common law ; that it was “opposed to moral right, as well as to humanity ;” that “slavery is contrary to the Constitution in some respects.” He said also, “I have been asked if I liked this Fugitive Slave Law. I answered, No, I loathed it ! I have a most revolting feeling at the giving up of a slave ; the law is opposed to humanity.” When further pressed, he said “Yes, it is opposed to moral right. But our fathers made the compact, and we must fulfil it. I say nothing of the humanity of it ; nothing of the right of it.”†

General Pierce, at that time, was neither a member of Congress nor an expectant of a Presidential nomination. We may see, in his case, the demoralizing effects of recognizing the binding force of immoral and inhuman enactments. We may see, likewise, the intrinsic weakness of the cause so seemingly strong, and may derive assurance and courage in maintaining the right, by perceiving that we have an ally in the breasts of all men. In such a controversy, ultimate success must be certain. Who can fail to see this ? The slaveholders and their supporters see it and feel it. Hence their extreme sensitiveness and rage. Their struggle is not that of courage, but of despair. Whatever they may lack, it is *not* the light that shows them they are in the wrong. How lamentable that any religious teachers should labor to strengthen their hands in wrong-doing !

The elements of real strength are not to be found in the old political parties. Where the position and activities of the individual *man* are at war with his *own conscience*, it cannot be expected that, in associations composed of such men, the members can be in harmony with each other.

* *National Era*, March 10, 1853.

† The *Republic* thus quotes the *Independent Democrat*, Concord, N. H. ; also, the *Manchester Democrat*, N. H., Jan. 8, 1852. See *National Era*, July 29, 1852.

Conspiracies are not *Unions*. The Democratic leaders glory over Whig dissensions. But their own ranks present ill-concealed feuds. In Ohio, Democratic policy sustains the position of Senator Chase, by refusing to adopt the Baltimore Platform. At a State Convention for nominations, a motion to adopt it elicited a warm debate. The friends of the proposal wished to withdraw it, to avoid a vote, but the poor privilege was denied them, and it was suppressed by a vote to lay it on the table! And resolutions concerning slavery were adopted, very closely corresponding with those of the Pittsburgh Convention of the Free Democracy.* This shows that the victorious party now in power, even with the spoils in its possession, cannot agree on the slave question—the grand question of the age. A dissolution of the party, as now organized, seems not improbable. The nationality of the Whig party, if that party can be said to have any organized existence at all, seems hopelessly wrecked. As the maintenance of *one* national party without another to contend against is impossible, and as the friends of liberty are rapidly increasing, it will not be long, we trust, before the electors of this country are all divided into two parties, the friends and enemies of freedom.

The disappointments and mortifications of the majority of servile politicians should tend to dampen their ardor and warn their successors. Allusion has already been made to the fate of prominent aspirants for the Chief Magistracy, but the melancholy fate of Webster deserves further notice. It has well been said of him that “in giving strength to the South, he lost strength at the North. And in losing strength at the North, he lost availability at the South. This case of Mr. Webster is not an exception. It illustrates a general rule.”† Van Buren, Cass, and Buchanan, were sacrificed in the same way. It is remarkable that in the Baltimore Convention, Mr. Webster was signally deserted by the South. At the first ballot, out of 294 votes, he only received 29, and all these were from non-slaveholding States. At the subsequent ballotings, his rose only to 31, and then declined to 25 and 21. “From beginning to end, on 53 ballotings, Mr. Webster had received but two votes from the South, one of them from Virginia, and one from Missouri!”‡ And this was the reward he reaped for his services in procuring and sustaining, at an immense sacrifice, the Fugitive Slave Bill! It is known that this ingratitude was deeply felt by Mr. Webster and his friends, and that this feeling contributed largely to diminish the vote for Gen. Scott.

When to these records of Southern ingratitude are added those of

* *National Era*, Jan. 20, 1853.

† *National Era*, June 17, 1852.

‡ *National Era*, June 24, 1852.

Northern disgust, they may unitedly warrant the hope that the days of political servility to slaveholders are numbered, and nearly expired. The confessions of Mr. Brooks, a Representative in Congress from the city of New-York, are in place here. In an explanation made in the House, April 23, alluding to the Southern members of Congress and their course at a previous caucus in Washington City, Mr. B. said :—

"In the great hour of trial, two sessions ago, our services were necessary for them, and they were given to them freely. *Ever since that, we have been hunted down in the North, as Missouri Compromise men were in 1820—but one of whom survived the political shock; the rest were hurried into political death by their connection with the South. If we feel sensitive upon the subject amid the adverse political opinion around us, and if we joined with them to execute an odious provision of the Constitution, and in creating an American sentiment for its vindication and support, and if we desired and claimed their protection, we only claimed what is our due and right, and which, if they give us, we can support ourselves and our country upon the basis of our Constitution.**

It is here stated that the Northern supporters in Congress of the Fugitive Slave Bill supported it expecting Southern "protection," and in the hope of changing public opinion at the North; but, failing to effect such a change, they are "hunted down at the North," while the South fails to "protect" them. The leading Whigs of Massachusetts express similar complaints. Neither Yankee nor Dutch shrewdness can hardly be expected to persevere in courting martyrdom in support of slavery, under prospects like these. Governmental patronage, including executive appointments, may continue to bribe, successfully, large numbers of adventurers, so long as the Administration remains in pro-slavery hands; but the blanks drawn in the lottery will greatly outnumber the prizes, and the high price of the tickets will discourage such investments before long. The PEOPLE of the free North hold the power of the nation in their own hands. They have only to use that power in accordance with their professed sentiments, and the work is done.

We have seen how the Slavery question has continued to agitate both Houses of Congress—how it constituted the grand test of the Presidential nomination and election—and how vitally it enters into the measures of the existing Administration, giving shape and character to its policy. The discussion of *such* a question cannot be suppressed: the attempt at suppression only adds to the range and the interest of the discussion; and the agitating topic is introduced of necessity—is unceasingly introduced by the very persons who most loudly demand that the agitation shall be silenced! Who can help investigating such a question? And what but unceasing investigation does the cause of liberty need?

* *New-York Evening Post*, April 24.

If we now glance at the political movements of those who dispute the supremacy of the slave power, we shall find ample evidence of the activity of the agitation, and that this activity increases and becomes more effective with every political device for its suppression or termination.

The Nominating Convention at Pittsburgh, already mentioned, was only a specimen, on a large scale, of similar Conventions held throughout the non-slaveholding States, and in some of the slave States, besides some of the free States, in which the advanced position of the Pittsburgh minority report (not novel in many parts of the country) was ably advocated, enthusiastically welcomed, and sustained. The Conventions of the Liberty Party were of this latter type.

State Conventions of the "Free Democracy" for nominations during the Presidential campaign (and in which the Pittsburgh platform and nominations were adopted) were held in each of the sixteen free States and in five of the slave States, making twenty-one States in all, (besides the District of Columbia,) to wit:—Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and California, (free States;) also, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Kentucky, (slave States;) in all of which, and in the Federal District, votes were cast against the present supremacy of the slave power: a testimony which had to be spread before the people in the teeth of all gags, compromises, and "finality" settlements of the vexed question. The ballot-box is still left to us, and once in four years the voters have the opportunity of making their voices heard and their sentiments understood at the seat of government, by those who trample their petitions in the dust, and by the whole nation.

When we consider how the Slavery question thus enters, of necessity, into our national politics, as an element of agitation, of discussion, and of election tests; when we notice how inevitably national politics become State politics, county politics, city, ward, township, village, school-district and neighborhood politics, among a people whose daily reading and conversation familiarizes them with political questions, one cannot help seeing the mistakes of those who, on the one hand, indulge hopes that the agitation can be quieted during the existence of slavery, and of those who, on the other hand, give way to gloomy apprehensions of the perpetuity of oppression. It is enough to know that discussion will overthrow slavery, and that nothing short of its extinction can silence the discussion.

The year past furnishes assurances of this. Besides the State Nominating Conventions just mentioned, there have been county, city, ward, township, village, school-district, and neighborhood conventions, meet-

ings and gatherings, larger and smaller, of the same character, responding to the nominations, and taking measures for sustaining them. The political agitation has, almost literally, been carried to the family threshold and fireside of the voter, and he could not avoid hearing something of the merits of the case. A wide diffusion of important information has been the result, and a demand created for more.

STATE LEGISLATION.

If the subject of slavery enters vitally into our *national* politics, most assuredly does it enter directly into the policy and action of the *State* Legislatures, Northern and Southern. Though some of the free States may, for the present, remain inert and inactive, the time must come when action, on one side or the other, will be demanded by importunities and necessities which will preclude further delay. Agitation in the State Legislatures, and consequently in State elections, will then be the order of the day.

For the present, the pro-slavery element, now in the ascendant, is prosperously pioneering the way, and preparing *precedents* without number for agitators on the side of freedom. If there may be State action in support of slavery, there may be State action against it. It will be for *the people* to say *which* shall obtain, and the selection will invite and secure *discussion*, the precursor, we trust, of *right* action.

In the State of Delaware, the agitation has already begun. And, what is remarkable, it has been begun for the purpose of *preventing* its beginning! Apprehensions, it seems, were entertained, that the Legislature might yield to the moving current of the age in favor of freedom. To prevent this, it is proposed so to amend the Constitution as to place it beyond their power. And thus the discussion is precipitated.

Hon. James A. Bayard, the Democratic leader in the Convention, has introduced and carried the following clause, divesting future Legislatures of the absolute power over slavery, always hitherto enjoyed, and aggravating the wrongs hitherto inflicted on the free colored population, viz.:

SEC. 22. The Legislature shall have no authority to emancipate slaves without the consent of their owner or owners. [Yeas, 21; Nays, 6.]

SEC. 23. No free negro or mulatto not now an inhabitant of the State, or who shall hereafter leave the State with intent to change his residence, shall, after the adoption of this Constitution, settle in this State, or come into and remain within the State more than ten days. All contracts made with any free negro or mulatto coming into the State contrary to the provisions of this section shall be void; and any person who shall employ such free negro or mulatto, or otherwise encourage him to remain in the State, shall be fined in a sum not less than ten, nor more than one hundred dollars.

SEC. 24. All fines which may be collected for a violation of the provisions of the preceding section, or of any law which may hereafter be passed for the purpose of carrying the same into effect, shall be set apart and appropriated for the colonization of such free negroes and mulattoes as may be inhabitants of the

State at the adoption of this Constitution, and their descendants who may be willing to emigrate. [Yeas, 17; Nays, 8.] *

As might easily have been foreseen, this movement threw the State into a ferment. Dissent is stamped upon the record of the proceedings, as nearly one third of the body voted in the negative. And the same number of the same journal from which we copy the intelligence, connects with it the earnest and able protest of an influential editor in the same State. The proposed clause was approved in Committee of the Whole, but it was afterwards rejected by the Convention, so that the subject of slavery, and the condition of the free people of color, are left untouched.

In the Legislature of Massachusetts, the agitation has also been going on. The Twenty-first Annual Report of the Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society says:

"Resolutions were introduced into the House of Representatives of an anti-slavery character; but they soon came to an untimely end. An excellent bill for the security of personal liberty, which was drafted and reported by Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, and which passed the Senate by a good majority, shared the same fate at the hands of the Lower House. An attempt to relieve the colored men of the State from the opprobrium cast upon them by their exclusion from the militia on account of their complexion, was also defeated."

These temporary defeats will only supply fresh topics of discussion and agitation, forbidding the subject of slavery to stagnate. The friends of liberty in Massachusetts will perhaps be driven to the discovery and adoption of some more efficient methods of political State action, hitherto overlooked by them. At all events, pro-slaveryism in Massachusetts will reap no laurels and gain no permanent popularity by such demonstrations.

The Legislature of Pennsylvania has also been a hall of slavery and anti-slavery agitation, within the past year. There is a law of that State against kidnapping, "by which the State officers are forbidden to assist in the capture of fugitive slaves," and (as it stood until recently) the use of the State jails for the confinement of fugitives was made a penal offense. A bill had passed the Legislature, repealing these provisions, but it had been vetoed by Governor Johnston, with a clear and conclusive exposition of his reasons. This was his last official act. His successor, Governor Bigler, recommended the repeal of the essential parts of the anti-slavery law. But all that was done was to repeal the section making the use of the jails a penal offense. "The rest of the law stands as it did before." "A most infamous bill for the prohibition of the emigration of free negroes into the State, excited so strong an indignation that it was suffered to drop in the committee to which it was

* *New-York Tribune*, April 29, 1853.

referred." "Governor Bigler succeeded, however, in making his zeal for the injured South conspicuous, by the pardon of the infamous Alberti,' who had been convicted of the crime of kidnapping.* A bill was likewise introduced into the Legislature for reënacting the statute by which slaveholders were permitted to hold their human property in the State for a limited time, but no action was had on the subject.

In the Legislature of New-York, a similar attempt was made, for the special object of counteracting the effect of Judge Paine's decision in the case of Mr. Lemmon's slaves,† and thus restoring the usage of allowing slaveholders to travel with their slaves through this State, without their claiming successfully their common-law right to freedom. But the proposal met with little favor, and was prudently permitted to pass into oblivion, affording fresh encouragement to efforts for purifying public opinion. By a former law of the State, the master might hold his slave within its limits nine months, but through the efforts of Abolitionists it was repealed, and cannot again be revived.

In the California Legislature, likewise, there has been agitation, and conflict, and action. In February, 1852, "a bill was introduced into the House of Representatives, providing process and imposing obligations on officials for the capture and rendition of fugitive slaves—essentially a reënactment of the Fugitive Slave Act." Another section was introduced, providing that persons held to service and labor in other States and Territories of the United States, who had been brought within the limits of the State previous to its admission into the Union, and who now refused to return, should be deemed fugitives, and surrendered accordingly. By this provision, many persons legally free by the operation of fundamental law, in the absence of municipal law, were subjected again to slavery!

The bill did not pass without warm opposition in both Houses, especially in the Senate, where it was very near being defeated. The bill was also so modified as to make it expire on the 1st of May, 1853; and it was provided that no master should hold any slave in the State for any other purpose than that of removing him from it.‡

The Legislature of Illinois has disgraced itself by a most infamous enactment, by which (in defiance of the Jeffersonian Ordinance of 1787, for ever inhibiting slavery in the North-west Territory, and in the States formed out of it) the odious system is substantially established, and ILLINOIS BECOMES A SLAVE STATE, not merely by the introduction of persons already enslaved, but by *the enslavement of free citizens of the United States*, coming in from other States, in direct violation of the Constitu-

* Twenty-first Annual Rep. Mass. A. S. Soc., p. 34.

† Ibid., p. 59.

‡ Ibid.

tion itself.* In its minute specifications determining *who* may be slaves, it outstrips the statutes of all the other slave States, inasmuch that while even Southern judges have been unable to find the enactment in those States that created and originated the legal relation of master and slave,† it must be admitted that the statute of ILLINOIS presents, perhaps, the only exception to that rule, making her THE ONLY STATE IN THE UNION whose *Statute Book* can be shown to have expressly and definitely enacted slavery. As the statute is of great length, we will give only an abstract of its main features :

SEC. 1. provides that any person who brings, or causes to be brought, "into the State, any negro or mulatto slave, whether said slave is set free or not," shall be subjected to a fine of from one to five hundred dollars, and to imprisonment not more than one year, with costs.

SEC. 2, after describing the process, and pointing out the duty of officials in executing the law, even when the accused may be citizens of other States, concludes thus : "Provided, that this section shall not be construed so as to affect persons or slaves *bona fide* travelling through this State to and from any other State in the United States."

This gives the slaveholder permission to take his slaves into Illinois and carry them out again as slaves, whereas, by the common law, his bringing them in would free them, as was decided by Judge Paine in New-York.

SEC. 3. "If any negro or mulatto, bond or free, shall come into this State and remain ten days, with the evident intention of remaining in the same, every such negro or mulatto shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor." Penalty for the first offense, fifty dollars ‡

SEC. 4 provides, that if said fine is not *paid forthwith*, the delinquent shall be advertised for sale at public auction; and at the time appointed, "*the justice shall proceed to sell said negro or mulatto* to any person who will pay said fine and costs for the shortest time," etc., etc.

SEC. 5 provides, that if said negro or mulatto fails to leave the State within ten days of the expiration of his or her term of service, he or she shall be liable to a fine of one hundred dollars, and so on, for every subsequent offense increasing the fine fifty dollars.

SEC. 6 regulates the process of appeal from decisions against the accused, requiring heavy bonds, and making the process onerous and difficult.

SEC. 7 awards to the successful *complainant* half the fines collected, and reserves the rest for a "*charity fund*" for the benefit of "*the poor of said county*!"

SEC. 8 provides facilities for the benefit of such as may claim the arrested persons as their slaves, enabling them, on due proof, to remove them from the State.

SEC. 9 provides for the punishment (for nonfeasance in office) of justices who shall refuse to carry out the preceding provisions! *So that no one can hold the office who declines becoming a slave auctioneer!*

SEC. 10. "Every person who shall have one fourth part negro blood, shall be deemed a mulatto."

SEC. 11. "This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage."

Approved, Feb. 12, 1853.

It is evident that, by the operations of this statute, free colored emi-

* Constitution of the United States.

† See Goodell's American Slave Code, pp. 260-8.

‡ It will be seen that this act does not refer to persons of color living in the State at the time it passed.

grants may be reduced to slavery for life. It is *not* the *services* of the man that are sold, but the *man himself*! The words of the statute are clear and emphatic. Slave statutes are always construed to the letter. And the known usage is, that a sale for a term of time secures perpetuity. The man is held as a chattel, and can have no redress. Besides, in the absence of competition, the term of service may cover a whole life, especially in cases where the fine, as provided in the statute, is increased to a large amount, and heavy costs added to the sum.

If this development in Illinois does not rouse the friends of liberty in that State, and throughout the free States, to more spirited action and to a higher tone of demand, the case is indeed a hopeless one. While they are consenting to make issue upon the question of the extension or non-extension of slavery into *new* States, the Genius of Slavery is emboldened and enabled to carry the aggressive warfare into the already existing *free States*, and transform one of them into a *slave State*! The issue is now changed to the question whether the free States of this Union shall become slave States! Is it not high time to learn that slavery, if permitted to exist, can neither be limited nor localized? Might we not as well talk of limiting a conflagration to a particular part of a city by ordinances and statutes? *What has become of the Ordinance of 1787?* Will not Abolitionists of all organizations and parties—will not all lovers of liberty, all opponents of pro-slavery supremacy, unite in raising again, in still louder tones, the Anti-slavery demand of 1833, *not* merely for the non-extension, but for the utter and *immediate abolition* of American slavery?

After witnessing such specimens of pro-slavery legislation in the so-called free States, we need not be surprised to find their example followed by the semi-civilized Indians. The following is among recent newspaper items:—

The Cherokees are really reaching a high pitch of civilization, refinement, and chivalry. The "Act in regard to Free Negroes" has just been amended so as to read thus:

"No free negro, except such as may be freed by citizens of the Nation, shall reside or hold property within the limits of the Cherokee Nation. And it is hereby made the duty of the Sheriffs to notify all such as may be found in their respective districts, now or at any time hereafter, to leave the Nation within fifty days after said notice.

"*Be it further enacted*, That all free negroes and slaves whatever are hereby prohibited from carrying any weapon of any description declared to be unlawful, under the penalty of receiving thirty-nine lashes on the bare back for every such offense, upon conviction before any Court having jurisdiction of the offense."

The fruits of the missionary policy that has permitted slaveholding, unrebuked, in the Cherokee and Choctaw mission churches, is here plainly visible. Will not the advocates of that policy see and rectify their mis-

take? Will not the supporters of Christian missions demand a change? And will they not so direct their contributions as to make the demand effectual?

The *National Era* of April 28, 1853, states :

"In the *Legislature of Virginia*, a bill has been passed appropriating \$42,000 to be applied to removing free colored persons from the State to Liberia, providing that a portion of it shall be raised by a poll-tax on free colored males, and a tax on seals attached to registers for freedom; in other words, compelling the poor to contribute to the expenses of their own banishment."

And this it seems is the newest phase of colonizationism in Virginia, where the scheme originated. This is colonizing the free people of color "with their own consent!" It is stated by a correspondent of the *National Era** that the number of free negroes in Virginia, by the last census, is 54,333; that their presence, in certain localities, is a great public benefit; that those capable of labor are constantly employed by persons willing to employ hired laborers and pay them just wages. But the system of *hired* labor cannot be tolerated by the slaveholders! "Agitation" in the Old Dominion may yet grow out of this phase of pro-slavery legislation, and shake the stability of the "peculiar institution" of *coerced* labor. It must be an unnatural and forced state of things in a "Commonwealth" where statutes have to be enacted for preventing a large class of the citizens from *hiring their work done for them!* In an age of railroads, steam machinery, and telegraphs, such a system must encounter formidable obstacles to its perpetuity. *Legislation* may thrust a dam over the current, but the waters will rise above it, and at length sweep it away.

FUGITIVES—ESCAPES—CAPTURES—KIDNAPPING—RESCUES—JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS.

Not only has the country been agitated on the slave question during the past year, by discussions in Congress, by Presidential nominations, by political rivalry, and by State legislation, but the agitation has been greatly promoted by the continued escapes of fugitive slaves, by their capture, by rescues, and by trials in the courts growing out of these exciting transactions.

On no point, perhaps, connected with the workings of slavery, are the sympathies of a Northern population so readily roused *in favor of freedom and against slavery*, as when fugitive slaves come among them—especially when they are seized, dragged before magistrates, and, by a summary process, remanded back into slavery. This fact has been so well understood, both before and since the beginning of the present anti-

* *National Era*, Feb. 24, 1853.

slavery movement, that captures and arrests have been conducted with all practicable secrecy, and commonly under the pretense of charges for petty larceny, &c. At an early stage of the present contest, (as, for instance, at Utica,) it was found that the same populace that had mobbed the Abolitionists were ready to rally and rescue from official custody fugitive slaves!

It was a strange oversight on the part of the conservators of slavery when they passed the Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850, and especially when they determined upon systematic measures for its rigorous execution. In no other way could they have done as much to increase the agitation they had determined to suppress. In no other way could they have so effectually drawn the public attention to the diabolical character of slavery, and to the wickedness and meanness of its Northern allies and supporters, both in Church and State. In no other way could they have so opportunely seconded the efforts of that class of Abolitionists who desire nothing more favorable to their cause than the opportunity of litigating the validity of pro-slavery legislation in the courts. As the records of the past year intertwine themselves with those of preceding years, we must be excused for briefly alluding to them.

In Massachusetts, ELIZUR WRIGHT had been prosecuted for assisting at the rescue of SHADRACH. The trial took place before JUDGE CURTIS, in June, 1852. "It was affirmed and believed that the District Attorney received instructions from the Secretary of State to have this trial take place during the week preceding the Whig Convention;" apparently desiring to incite a mutual influence between judicial decisions and political movements. But the jury could not agree, though the charge of the judge was strongly against the accused. At the second trial, in November, Mr. Wright was acquitted.*

In Pennsylvania, the trial of Rev. SAMUEL WILLIAMS, for giving timely notice to the slave of GORSUCH, which led to the battle of Christiana, terminated in his triumphant acquittal.† Judge GRIER, who presided on this trial, had betrayed an evident leaning to the slaveholders, and had treated with marked courtesy the Maryland Attorney-General, who was in attendance. But he was severely censured by the Governor of Maryland because he did not so distort the laws of the United States as to procure the conviction of Mr. Williams and of the other prisoners, whose prosecutions were dropped in consequence of his acquittal. This shows the *extent* of the slaveholders' demands, and their *gratitude* to those whose services fall short of the successful vindication of them.

ELIZABETH PARKER, a free colored girl, who had been kidnapped from

* Twenty-first Annual Rep. Mass. Anti-slavery Soc., p. 33.

† Ibid.

Pennsylvania and sold in New-Orleans under another name, has been liberated by the exertions of citizens of Chester county. They entered into a bond for \$1500 for her return, conditioned on the payment of that sum if she did not prove to be Elizabeth Parker; and the issue was in accordance with their anticipations.

RACHEL PARKER, sister of Elizabeth, had been previously kidnapped. She, too, has been recovered from New-Orleans. Counsel was furnished for her by the State of Pennsylvania, and she was liberated by a Baltimore jury. But no steps have been taken for the punishment of the kidnappers and murderers by whom JOSEPH C. MILLER was assassinated for having instituted legal proceedings at Baltimore for the rescue of Rachel Miller.*

In May, 1852, JAMES PHILLIPS, a colored man, who had lived fourteen years in Harrisburgh, much respected, and employed in a confidential situation on a railway, was thrown off his guard by a pretended friendly salutation, knocked down, carried before Commissioner RICHARD McALLISTER, and, by a summary and irregular process, delivered up into slavery. The enormity of the case created a strong sensation; and a contribution was raised for his relief, and he was ransomed from slavery.†

Brief allusion was made in our last Annual Report to the case of WILLIAM SMITH, who was arrested at Columbia, Pennsylvania, and, on his attempting to escape, was shot dead by the slave-catcher, one Ridgely, of Baltimore. This attempted arrest was under warrant of the same Commissioner McALLISTER. "It has never appeared that Gov. BIGLER, of Pennsylvania, has demanded the surrender of Ridgely, or that any steps have been taken to bring him to justice."‡

The case of SHADRACH S. OLIVER and others, *versus* DANIEL KAUFFMAN and others, in the United States Circuit Court at Philadelphia, in Nov. 1852, was a significant one. The defendants were charged with harboring and assisting thirteen fugitive slaves, claimed as belonging to the plaintiffs. The charge by JUDGE GRIER entitled him to the appellation of the American JEFFRIES, and evinced a resolute determination to succeed, at *this* time, in giving satisfaction to the all controlling slave power of the nation. He alluded distinctly to the complaints of the Executive of Maryland concerning the former action of the Court, and seemed anxious, on this occasion, to make due amends. He lamented that "a worthy citizen of Maryland, in attempting to capture a fugitive, was basely murdered by a mob of negroes on the southern borders of

* *National Era*, Aug. 5, 1852; also Twenty-first An. Rep. Mass. A. S. Soc., p. 34; also Frederick Douglass's paper, April 22, 1853.

† Twenty-first An. Rep. Mass. A. S. Soc., p. 41.

‡ *Ibid*.

the State," and he affirmed that "this outrage was the legitimate result of the seditious and treasonable doctrines taught by a few vagrant and insane fanatics."

In harmony with these appeals to the worst passions and prejudices of the community, were his expositions of the law.

"In the case now before the Court," he said, "it is contended that the slaves became free by the act of the plaintiffs in voluntarily bringing them into the State of Pennsylvania. This question depends upon the law of Maryland, and *not* of Pennsylvania."

Thus he decided that the slave laws of a *slave* State extend their jurisdiction over the *free* States, whether they consent or no! Thus he denied to a sovereign State the power of excluding slavery from its territory.

He next proceeded to sneer at and set aside the contrary principle recognized in the famous decision of Lord Mansfield, in the case of James Somerset, in 1772, thus denying the legal validity of the noble decision by which he declared that slavery could not exist in England! denying, likewise, by plain and unavoidable implication, the legal validity of the kindred judicial decision by which slavery was abolished in Massachusetts, and reducing it again to a slave State!

"On this subject," said Judge Grier, "Lord Mansfield has said some pretty things, (in the case of Somerset,) which are often quoted as principles of the common law. But they will perhaps be found, by examination of later cases, to be classed with rhetorical flourishes rather than legal dogmas. Since the former trial of this case, the point has been decided by the Supreme Court, as I think. But, however that may be, *the point is ruled* in favor of the plaintiffs, for the purposes of the present case, *as we desire to have your verdict on the facts in the case, which are so much contested.*"

The "Declaration of Independence," in its affirmation of inalienable rights, has long since been exploded by the slavery party, as a "rhetorical flourish." And *now* the judges of the Federal Courts, on the bench, decide that the foundation-principles of the common law, upon which Anglo-Saxon liberty, in both hemispheres, has reposed for ages, are "rhetorical flourishes" likewise!

The price of maintaining the Fugitive Slave Bill is thus ascertained. It must involve the loss of all *legal principles*, with the securities that depend on them. "An examination of later cases" (as decided by our judges) will sweep them all away. Such sentiments from the bench of the Federal Courts can hardly fail to suggest or to stimulate the inquiry whether *that* can deserve the name of *law*, which, by the avowals of its judicial supporters, requires them to trample under foot, with derision, the fundamental *principles* of law!

The jury, thus instructed, and allowed to judge only of "*the facts* of

the case," (leaving the law to Judge Grier, who deems legal science a "rhetorical flourish," to be set aside by an examination of "later cases!") returned a verdict of \$2,800 against Kauffman, and of "not guilty," in the case of the other defendants.* Such is the penalty for performing a Christian and humane act in the land of William Penn! The man who does not feel his religious liberties infringed by such decisions, should solicitously ask himself whether he prizes and practises *Christ's* religion, which requires us to "hide the outcasts," to "feed the hungry," to "entertain strangers," to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them," and "do to others as we would have others do to us."

About the same time, another alleged fugitive, called THOMAS BROWN, *alias* BORDLEY, was arrested in Philadelphia by the noted kidnapper, ALBERTI, who was going at large under the pardoning grace of Gov. Bigler. The poor man was given up into slavery. At this trial, DAVID PAUL BROWN, Esq., a legal gentleman professing to be friendly to freedom, acted as counsel for the prisoner. The papers report him as having assented, in open Court, to the sufficiency of the evidence produced by the claimants, and as saying: "Much as we are opposed to the Fugitive Slave Law, and to the institution it is designed to protect, we know our *duty* as citizens, and will bow in submission to the *laws of the land*."†

We see, here again, the cost of admitting the legal validity of the "Fugitive Slave Bill, and of the institution it is designed to protect." The concession binds the people hand and foot, and lays them upon the altar of the slave power, unresisting and submissive, while LAW ITSELF, in the fundamental *conception* of it, is adjudged by the Courts to be a "flourish of rhetoric," repealable by judicial decisions!

In the State of New-York, the work of judicial agitation has not been less effectively forwarded.

One JONATHAN LEMMON, of Virginia, already alluded to, designing to emigrate with his slaves to Texas, found it convenient to come with them to the city of New-York, in November, 1852, for embarkation. On arriving there, the fact came to the knowledge of some friends of liberty, by whom a writ of *habeas corpus* was procured, and the slaveholder, with his alleged eight slaves, were brought before Judge Paine, of the Superior Court of the City of New-York, in due form, viz.: "The People, *ex rel.* Louis Napoleon, *vs.* Jonathan Lemmon, Respondent." On the latter party rested the obligation to show cause why the alleged slaves were held by him in a state of imprisonment and detention. The

* *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, Nov. 11, 1852.

† *Ibid.*

plea for the respondent, of course, was, that "*they were his slaves*, in the right of his wife Juliet, who had been their owner for several years past, she being a resident of Virginia, a slaveholding State," &c.; "that she is now, with her said slaves or property, *in transitu* from Virginia to Texas, another slave State," &c.; that "she had no intention of bringing them into this State to remain or re-side, but was passing through the harbor of New-York, on her way from Virginia to Texas," &c.; and "she insists that said persons are not free, but are slaves, as aforesaid, and that she is entitled to their possession and custody."

The point of law thus distinctly presented was, whether a slave, brought into the State of New-York by his master or mistress, could for one moment *remain* a slave, and *as* such be taken into a slave State, or whether he was not in a condition of freedom, and, like every other free man, entitled to protection in the enjoyment of that freedom. The case was a plain one, but was earnestly contested in court. Judge Paine, in an elaborate opinion, giving abundant citations of authorities and precedents, (some of them taken from the courts in slave States,) decided that "the eight persons mentioned in the writ be discharged." They were accordingly set at liberty. But an excitement of political and counting-house sympathy was got up in favor of Mr. and Mrs. Lemmon, and a sum much exceeding their own valuation of the "property" was subscribed for their relief by the members of the "Union Safety Committee" and their coadjutors. Strange to tell, Judge Paine himself contributed to this fund for making due amends for the harshness of his own decision! Whether he thought it one of those hard cases in which (according to prevailing judicial ethics) the moral *right* of the case had to be sacrificed on the altar of precedent or law; or whether he was willing to appease the clamor, Northern and Southern, that assailed him, we undertake not to say; but his friends may console themselves with the belief that the peace-offering was not, to him, a very expensive one, as it was rumored that the money for the purpose was put into his hands by merchants seeking Southern custom. The class of presses of which the *New-York Journal of Commerce* is a specimen were vociferous in their condemnation of the decision, and of the meddlesome fanatics who had procured it. The *Washington Union*, and other political presses, invoked "indignant rebukes;" the Governor of Virginia, in an official communication, complained of the decision as an outrage upon Southern rights and two patriotic gentlemen in the Legislature of New-York courageously stood alone in support of the Union, by proposing a legislative remedy against such decisions. In the midst of these developments, a New-Orleans editor administered a caustic rebuke of Southern fanaticism and Northern servility, showing, by a reference to cases decided in the courts of Louis-

iana, that the decision of Judge Paine was a correct one, according to the books and the precedents even in slave States! When will Northern cupidity and meanness cease to invite a world's scorn?

The decision of Lord Mansfield in the Somerset case supplied British statesmen and poets with the proud motto, that "*Slaves cannot breathe in England.*" The decision of Judge Paine, were it not for the continued judicial recognition of the infamous Fugitive Slave Bill, would have inscribed the same motto upon the aegis of New-York. There was formerly a law of this State, by which slaves brought into it by their masters might be held for nine months, and then taken to the land of perpetual slavery. Through the untiring efforts of Abolitionists, that law was repealed during the administration of Gov. Seward, and we trust will never be restored. But for this repeal, the eight freemen released by the decision of Judge Paine would have been taken to Texas and held as slaves to-day:—one item of answer to the inquiry, "What have the Abolitionists done?"*

Another illustration, both of judicial *agitation* and of consequent Anti-slavery *progress*, is found in the records of the process through which the odious enactment of 1850 is rapidly becoming, in some portions of the country, a dead letter. On this point we should have quoted, in connection with recent judicial decisions in Pennsylvania, the last Annual Report of the Pennsylvania Anti-slavery Society, which has the following:

"One year ago, our record showed a catalogue of twenty-six cases of alleged slaves delivered up, from this State, under the Fugitive Slave Law, besides numerous cases of kidnapping and attempts to kidnap, and other instances of outrage and violence perpetrated under cover of this inhuman enactment. This year we have to report but THREE cases of extradition as having occurred within the limits of our State, and *only two* well-authenticated cases of kidnapping."

The result of trials for violating the "Compromise," in Massachusetts, has already been stated. We recur again to the State of New-York.

JERRY was rescued at Syracuse, in October, 1851. A few months after, at the sitting of a United States Court at Buffalo, from twenty to thirty persons were indicted as rescuers of Jerry, &c.

None of them were tried until February, 1853. ENOCH REED, of Syracuse, (a colored person,) was the first who was put on trial. He was not tried under the *Fugitive Servant Law* of 1793 or 1850. He was

* The decision of Judge Paine, made it would seem with considerable reluctance, and apologized for by his subscription for the benefit of the defendant, was not only according to law every where expounded in free countries, but as recognized in slave States. Among the decisions of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, made soon after the termination of the Common case, is that in the case of *Lucy Brown vs. Persifer F. Smith*—S. B. Taylor, warrantor, by ELSNER, Chief Justice, which fully recognizes the constitutionality and propriety of the legislation of the North, on the question of slaves *in transitu*, or temporary residents.—*National Era*, February 17, 1853.

tried under the law of 1790, which forbids *resisting officers*, &c. He was convicted, but, owing to irregularities in the proceedings, he was not sentenced, and has not yet been sentenced; nor can he be, as he has recently been released by death.

WM. L. SALMON, of Fulton, Oswego co., was then tried under the law of 1850 aforesaid, and acquitted.

IRA W. COBB was then tried under the said law of 1850. The jury could not agree.

Mr. BRIGHAM, of Syracuse, was then tried under the said law of 1850. The jury could not agree.

No others have been tried. It is said, but we know not how truly, that there are to be further trials. The above trials took place in Albany, before Judge HALL, late Postmaster-General, and brother-in-law of Mr. FILLMORE, late acting President.

On the other hand, some of those who fell upon Jerry have been prosecuted.

LEAR, who came from Missouri to Syracuse for the purpose of plunging Jerry into slavery, was arrested. He died before the time for his trial had arrived.

HENRY W. ALLEN (Deputy Marshal) was tried for kidnapping, in the Supreme Court of New-York, at the Onondaga Circuit, in June, 1852. He was acquitted.

Several of the assistants of Allen have been prosecuted for assault and battery. One was tried at Syracuse last autumn. The judge held that the law of 1850, aforesaid, is constitutional, and the jury therefore acquitted. A case was made. It is now before the Supreme Court, and will probably be before the Court of Appeals in the course of a year or eighteen months.

GERRIT SMITH, to whom we are indebted for this statement of the trials growing out of the Jerry rescue, has acted as counsel on the side of freedom, at the trials. The trial of H. W. Allen, the Deputy Marshal, is published in a thick pamphlet, with the arguments of the counsel on both sides. That of Mr. Smith comprises, in sixteen distinct propositions, his reasons for the unconstitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Bill. It ought to be widely circulated and carefully studied. The LAW QUESTION should be kept before *the people*, as well as the courts, and be first decided by *them*. This was the policy of GRANVILLE SHARP, perseveringly pursued for years; and it was not until the people of England had studied and decided in favor of liberty that the MANSFIELDS and the BLACKSTONES of the law could be prevailed upon to do so. It will be found that, in this country, the judicial decisions on this subject are already influenced by the moral atmosphere of the locality the court sits in, and the character

of the people from among whom a jury must be empannelled. Massachusetts, with Central New-York, are not favorable sites for obtaining pro-slavery decisions. This matter was understood in fixing the place of the trial of the Jerry rescuers at Albany, and not farther west. The Federal Executive understood perfectly well what parts of the State were most imbued with an intelligent and elevated anti-slavery sentiment. He knew precisely where anti-slavery appeals were most enthusiastically responded to, for he had formerly found it convenient, in such localities, (once at Rochester, just before his nomination for the Vice-Presidency,) to harangue the people on "the aggressions of the slave power!" He knew the power of such appeals, for they had gained him votes. He knew that, of all the popular gatherings in his native State, none were more respectable or more enthusiastic than the annual "Jerry Rescue Celebration" at Syracuse—the same (yet *not* the same!) Syracuse whose citizens prided themselves in her exemption from the "Abolition infection" in 1834, and scarcely tolerated an Anti-slavery Convention in 1836. And he knew that the influence and the eloquence of a DANIEL WEBSTER, put forth for the special object, before the Jerry rescue, had signally failed to allay or to overawe the anti sentiment of Syracuse!*

When all the territory of all the non-slaveholding States rises to the moral elevation of the region of Syracuse, there will be no eligible seats for the sittings of pro-slavery Federal Courts. Let Abolitionists see the work that is to be done. There were few darker spots on the map than Syracuse, twenty years ago!

It is interesting to notice the origin of the practice of surrendering fugitive slaves. A remark in an article in the *Christian Examiner* for March, 1853, on "Ausebar, the Apostle of the North," reveals the fact that it was during the reign of anarchy and dismay that followed the dismemberment of the empire after the battle of Fontenoi, while the Northern men were foraging all along the sea-coasts of the Franks, just a thousand years ago:

"When the marauders came, the King sent out to negotiate for how much spoil they might be bribed to stay away. It was an article of treaty with them, that if one of their prisoners should escape, he should be given back, or a price paid for him."†

Who would have thought that, after the lapse of a thousand years, the nation calling itself the freest on earth would enact a law for the

* This was during the time or near the close of an Anti-slavery gathering, a fact which Mr. Webster understood. When he saw by their countenances that the citizens disapproved the Fugitive Slave Bill and Compromise he was commending to them, he grew petulant, and said, in a threatening tone, that the law should yet be enforced in Syracuse, though even in the presence of an Anti-slavery Convention. The *Jerry* arrest appears to have been planned accordingly. The result is before the world.

† *Independent*, March 10th, 1853.

forcible reclamation of fugitives from oppression, and making it a penal offense to extend to them comfort and aid? Who that reads the debates in the Convention that formed the Constitution, and the debates in the Conventions of the several States that ratified it, can believe that our forefathers intended to intrust the Congress with such a power? It is impossible. It is as clear as noonday, that not one of these Conventions held that the clauses in the Constitution, supposed to allude to slavery, sanctioned or sustained in any way the foul system. On the contrary, they were spoken of in the North Carolina Convention as anti-slavery in their tendency; they were denounced in the Virginia Convention as investing Congress with power to interfere for the abatement of the evil; and they were explained by Judge Wilson, in the Convention of Pennsylvania, and Judge Dawes, in that of Massachusetts, as being concessions on the part of the South, which in reality paved the way for ultimate emancipation; and those explanations were accepted.*

As the slave-trade was at the time universally considered the parent of slavery, it was held that the extinction of the former would put an end to the latter. Hence the provision of the Constitution allowing Congress to prohibit the traffic in the year 1808—an act beyond the power of the Congress of the Confederation—was referred to as a clear gain by the opponents of slavery. The provision in regard to fugitives from service or labor excited no discussion or agitation in the Federal Convention, and, so far as we can judge from an examination of the proceedings of the State Conventions, attracted little attention. The reason of this may have been, that the article was intended to apply primarily to indented apprentices or to redemptioners. At any rate, its consequences with regard to fugitive slaves were not foreseen; and besides, it was the prevailing belief that slavery was a temporary institution, rapidly tending to extinction, when of course those clauses of the Constitution, so far as they relate to it, would become inoperative.*

The late lamented Mr. Rantoul made a very able speech in the House of Representatives, June 11, 1852, on the question: "Is there in the Constitution of the United States a grant of power to the Government to legislate for the rendition of fugitives from labor?" This he denied, and argued at length, with great force of reasoning, to sustain his position. It is worthy of notice, that the law of 1793 was drafted by a Massachusetts merchant;† that in the Prigg case some parts of the law were pronounced unconstitutional by a judge from Massachusetts,‡ and that the chief supporter of the law of 1850, intended to supply the deficiencies of the previous act, was sustained by a Massachusetts senator.¶

* See *National Era* of June 10th, 1852, for some of these remarks.

† George Cabot.

‡ Joseph Story.

¶ Daniel Webster.

We will now glance again at the records of jurisprudence in those sections of country and before those courts wherein no available influence of a rectified and progressive public sentiment operates.

In Illinois there is a statute by which persons who "harbor or secrete a slave, or hinder or prevent any lawful owner or owners from taking them in a lawful manner," are "deemed guilty of a misdemeanor," and "fined not exceeding five hundred dollars, or imprisoned not exceeding six months."

RICHARD ELLIS was indicted and convicted under this statute, by the Supreme Court of Illinois. By writ of error the case was carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States. In behalf of Ellis, it was urged that the act of Illinois is void, because it conflicts with the Constitution of the United States, which provides for the proper disposition of such cases; and also with the corresponding acts of Congress, which impose specific penalties for such offenses. The act therefore subjects the delinquent to double punishment, one by the State Courts and the other by the Federal Courts. It was further urged, "that an affirmance of the judgment in this case will conflict with the decision of this court in the case of *Prigg vs. Pennsylvania*."

The opinion of the court, delivered by Justice Grier, was, that the act of Illinois was not in conflict either with the Constitution of the United States, nor with the acts of Congress, nor with the decisions of the Federal Courts. And therefore (Judge McLean dissenting) the judgment of the Supreme Court of Illinois was affirmed.*

IN MISSOURI, the Supreme Court of the State, at St. Louis Circuit, have undertaken to establish a principle which overrides many decisions of the slave States themselves, favorable to liberty. It had been held that when a slave was taken by his master, or with his consent, into a free State and brought back again, he could not be legally held in slavery, but was entitled to his freedom. But in the case of *Dredd Scott vs. Irene Emerson*, wife and administratrix of Dr. John Emerson, the contrary doctrine prevailed. The late master of Scott was a surgeon in the U. S. Army, and had been stationed at Rock Island, Illinois, and also at Fort Snelling, in the territory of the United States; at both of which places, the plaintiff, Scott, had been detained in his service. He therefore sued for his freedom. "On the first trial, the jury, in accordance with the ruling of the Court, found a verdict for the slave. But on the case being carried up on a writ of error, the decision was reversed, on the ground that the condition of servitude *re-attached* upon the slave's returning within the jurisdiction of Missouri."†

* *National Era*, Jan. 6, 1853.

† Twenty-first Ann. Rep. Mass. A. S. Soc., p. 38.

"This case overrules the following cases, previously decided by the Supreme Court" of the same State :—

Mary *vs.* Tiffin & Menard, 1 Mo. 521.

Milly *vs.* Smith, 2 Mo. 32.

Milly *vs.* Smith, 2 Mo. 139.

Vincent *vs.* Duncan, 2 Mo. 174.

Ralph *vs.* Duncan, 3 Mo. 138.

Julia *vs.* McKenny, 3 Mo. 193.

Nati *vs.* Ruddell, 3 Mo. 282.

Rachel *vs.* Walker, 4 Mo. 351.

Wilson *vs.* Melville, 4 Mo. 592.*

It likewise contradicts numerous judicial decisions in the other slave States,† as also the following :—

IN KENTUCKY, a slave State, in which efficient anti-slavery operations (in sympathy with Northern Abolitionists) are going forward, free churches gathered, that exclude slaveholders, and a political party, hostile to slavery, organized, the courts maintain a different position.

Clarissa, a slave in Kentucky, was permitted by her mistress, Mrs. Triggs, in 1838, to accompany Mrs. Alexander to Philadelphia, and to continue there for more than six months, though she was apprised that, by statute of that State, passed in 1780, a slave brought into the State would be entitled to freedom there, after a residence of six months. Clarissa returned to Kentucky with Mrs. Alexander, and, on being sold, instituted a suit for her freedom. The decision was given in her favor; an appeal was taken; and in January, 1853, the Court of Appeals, through Judge Crenshaw, delivered an elaborate opinion, affirming the decision of the lower court, and liberating Clarissa.

In some of its features, the decision of this case is considered to be in advance of any former decision in Kentucky.

IN CALIFORNIA, the monstrous enactment before mentioned, making provision for the seizure and rendition not only of fugitives, but of resident citizens before free, is rigorously and greedily enforced by the courts.

Three persons, Carter Perkins, Robert Perkins, and Sandy Jones, claimed by C. S. Perkins, of Mississippi, as his slaves, were brought into California to work at the mines, in 1849, and therefore became legally free. Under the act of April 15, 1852, he undertook to reconvey them to Mississippi. They were taken to Sacramento City, and sought their release by a *habeas corpus*. The unconstitutionality of the statute was urged in their favor, but Judge Aldrich (from Florida or Alabama) de-

* *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, June 10, 1852.

† See Goodell's American Slave Code.

cided against them, and remanded them back to their claimants. Another writ of *habeas corpus* was obtained from Judge Wells, (from New-York,) of the Supreme Court at San Francisco. Judge Wells' term having expired, the case was tried before Judges Murray and Anderson, and the negroes were given up to the claimant.*

Later accounts say that under this law, "arrests of colored people continue to be made."†

"The Press is faithless, with exception of the *Pacific*." Where a vigorous and vigilant anti-slavery sentiment is not kept up by persevering agitation, the decisions of the Courts will be pro-slavery, of course.

The *California Christian Advocate* (says the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* of Nov. 4) relates an incident which recently occurred in San Francisco, showing what things are done there under cover of the late Fugitive Slave Law of that State.

"On last Thursday morning, just before the sailing of the steamer *Golden Gate*, the usual quiet of Belden street, in this city, was disturbed by a most remarkable affair, the thread of which seems as yet shrouded in mystery—probably in the mystery of iniquity.

"It appears, as near as the facts have as yet been ascertained, that a colored woman, named Louisa, had resided there for some time past, washing and cooking for several persons, and striving to make an honest living. She seems to have maintained a fair character in the neighborhood. She had been a slave, however, and was brought to this country some time in 1850, by Mrs. Reese, who keeps a boarding-house in Dupont street. Louisa lived with Mrs. Reese for one year, when, owing to causes not necessary to relate, she left, agreeing to pay \$800 to Mrs. R. for the year's time she still owed her. Since the passage of the State Fugitive Slave Law, Louisa, it is said, had heard various rumors that she would be sent back to slavery. But she confided in the integrity of her old mistress, and took no pains to keep herself out of the way. She considered also that the reports, if from the family, were only intended to stimulate her to pay the \$800—\$200, or more, of which she had already paid, and she was laboring successfully to secure the balance. Some flattering efforts, or more properly decoys, had been presented, to induce her to return to the States, but she had not listened to them.

"On the day before the steamer sailed, we are told, on what we consider reliable authority, that she was requested to go to Mrs. Reese's early on the next morning—that is, on the morning the steamer sailed. She did not go, but put on her wash-water and was proceeding as usual with her daily avocations, when five men rushed unexpectedly upon her, seized her, and after a vigorous resistance, in which her dress was nearly torn off, captured her and hurried her into a carriage which was standing in the street adjacent, and drove speedily away. A Scotchwoman who was near, witnessing the horrible plight of the colored woman, ran to fetch her another dress, but the carriage was gone, and only one or two persons happened to be near, who were confused and confounded by the circumstances, till the carriage was beyond reach. The five men were armed with revolvers. A number, ready to secure the full value of the woman to any claimant, ran to the boat, but, amid the denials, contradictions, and confusion of starting, nothing could be done. What adds to the mystery of the affair is, that no process of law was observed. So far as we can learn, no warrant was obtained, nor was the woman taken before any justice of the peace or judge of any court. It is said, however, but we know not how truly, that a certain official of the city led on the chivalrous attack.

* *National Era*, August 6 and October 21, 1852.

† *Ibid*, November 4

"Another matter of mystery is, Mrs. Reese, the proper person and claimant (or her daughter) to move an arrest according to law, assures a friend of ours that she neither knew of nor authorized the arrest.

"Under the State Fugitive Slave Law, two colored men who had been stewards on the Golden Gate were sent back to the States on the last trip. We suppose these were sent back according to law.

An account of another case, under the law, is given in the *San Francisco Herald*:—

"FUGITIVE SLAVE CASE.—Justice Shepherd yesterday issued a warrant for the arrest of a mulatto woman who was claimed as a fugitive from labor by T. T. Smith, of Jackson county, Missouri. She was brought to this country by the claimant in 1850, and remained, together with a number of other slaves, in his family until a few months since, when she married a free negro and escaped. Her owner heard of her arrival here, and came down in search. Being informed that she was secreted on board the ship *Flying Cloud*, he applied for a warrant, by virtue of which she was arrested and brought before Justice Shepherd, by whom, on satisfactory proof of title, she was remanded to the custody of Mr. Smith, to be conveyed to the State of Missouri."

It is cheering to notice that in the State of New-York, the region of Anti-slavery Conventions, colored editors, colored clergymen, church agitation, and Anti-slavery churches—the birth-place of distinctly-organized political Abolitionism, where slaveholding and pro-slavery voting are extensively regarded as heinous sins, it is not quite as easy as in California, Illinois, and Missouri, to enslave free citizens, without public protection or redress.

SOLOMON NORTHROP, a free colored citizen of the United States, born of free parents in Essex county, N. Y., married in 1829, and residing with his wife and children at Saratoga, found occasion, in 1841, to go to Washington City to drive a team. He took the precaution to provide himself with written testimonials of his freedom. On his arrival at Washington, he put up at Gads-by's Hotel, retired, sick, to bed, and took medicine at the hands of some persons. The next thing he remembers is, that he found himself chained to the floor of Williams' slave-pen, in that city, and in possession of James H. Burch, a noted slave-dealer. In spite of all remonstrances, he was conveyed down the river, by steam-boat, to Richmond, put on board the brig *Orleans*, carried to Louisiana and sold as a slave. After having been sold several times, he fell into the hands of Edwin Eppes, in Bayou Boeuf, about 130 miles from the mouth of Red river, in the parish of Avoyelles, La. Here he found opportunity to send a letter home, in August, 1852. Application being made to Governor Hunt, of New-York, with proper proofs of his freedom, the requisite authority of the State was obtained; Mr. H. B. Northrop, of Washington county, proceeded to Washington City, where he received testimonials from Hon. Mr. Conrad, Secretary of War, and other distinguished gentlemen. Arriving in Louisiana, a legal process was commenced,

and the testimony was so complete, that the defense was relinquished and the captive restored to his freedom. On their way home through Washington City, they caused Burch to be arrested; but, owing to the rejection of the testimony of Solomon, the victim of his villany, because he was *colored*, while the testimony of Burch in his own case was allowed by the Court, he was discharged. Burch then commenced a suit against Solomon for a conspiracy to defraud him! Mr. H. B. Northrop promptly offered himself as counsel for Solomon, and asked that the trial might immediately proceed. Burch was intimidated, and discontinued the suit.*

A narrative of Solomon Northrop's captivity is just published, and is expected to make an important addition to the "peculiar" literature of America.

A mistaken rumor that some slave-catchers were in the county of Ashtabula, (Ohio,) within the Congressional District of JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS, occasioned an unprecedented excitement in that region. Had it proved true, it is doubted whether the intruders would have been safe themselves, so far from being permitted to bring into grave litigation the security and freedom of others.† Such would be the state of feeling in all the counties of all the free States, if men loved their neighbors as themselves, and did not honor, in practice, the peace principles of the "Friends." The "spirit of Seventy-six," that resisted taxation without representation, in the imposition of a three-penny tax upon tea, was far more excitable and impetuous.

Even at the South, the kidnapping of FREE colored persons, when the knowledge of the fact becomes public, is beginning to cause unwonted excitement. If such excitements are ever justifiable, and if "*all men are created equal*," the excitement sometimes seen among "Northern fanatics" must be so. The item that follows proves this, while it also shows the natural workings of the slave system:—

EXTENSIVE KIDNAPPING.—By a friend who arrived this morning from Mobile, we learn that two white men, named Mapley and Long, have been arrested there on a charge of forcibly carrying off free persons of color from this State, and attempting to sell them. Eight colored persons of French extraction, named Frozine, Madeline, Sally, Ozennie, Julia, Hyppolite, Adela and Eudora, were taken up with them, and are now in prison. These colored persons say that they are free. They refer to Messrs. Francois Le Beau, Severin Passe, Gustave and Arnauld Gronin, Major Theozende Leme, Hyppolite Deveron, and Charles Poydras, of Pointe Coupée, planters, for the truth of their statement. The white men are also accused of having sold five kidnapped colored persons in this city, for Texas.—*New-Orleans Picayune*, March 1.

The extent and frequency of ESCAPES FROM SLAVERY may be inferred from such items as the following:—

* *National Era*, Feb. 3, 1853.

† *National Anti-slavery Standard*, Oct. 7, 1852.

"Five slaves have left Mr. C. Q. ARMSTRONG, of St. Louis; a girl of 18, a woman of 25, and three children, supposed to have been abducted by two white men.

"MRS. PENDLETON'S slaves, fourteen in number, who ran off to Pennsylvania from Washington county, Md., a few days ago, have not been arrested at Harrisburgh as reported, although they are said to be in that town.

"THE NEGROES LEAVING.—The *Rockingham* (Va.) *Register* says, that on the 4th inst. there was a considerable stampede among the negroes of Pendleton county in that State. Z. Dyer, Esq., late Clerk of the county, lost three, Cyrus Hopkins, Esq., two, and Elisha Stonestreet, one. About a year since, A. W. Dyer, of the same county, lost four of his most valuable slaves in the same way."*

In Mason and Bracken counties, Kentucky, the subject has attracted the most anxious attention. A meeting of citizens has been held, and an Association organized to assist in pursuing and recovering fugitives. Liberal rewards are offered to citizens of free States to assist them†—fresh stimulus to the zeal of "Union safety" patriots, and new aids to the "lower law" ecclesiastics who magnify the office of the Apostle to the Gentiles, by investing it with the function of returning fugitive slaves!

Such appeals to the North may derive force, perhaps—illustration certainly—from judicial decisions at the South, reducing free Northern citizens, known as such, to a state of slavery, for no fault but acting in accordance with the Golden Rule. Witness the following:—Four free citizens of Massachusetts, colored men, were arrested in Galveston, Texas, for concealing a fugitive slave on board the brig *Billow*, of Boston, with intention of aiding in his escape. They were tried and convicted, *on slave evidence*, (which for all humane and just purposes is excluded from the Southern courts,) and were sentenced to pay a fine equal to the value of the slave, or, in default thereof, to be sold as slaves themselves. And they were accordingly sold! The Governor of Massachusetts was authorized by the Legislature of that State to take measures for their relief at the public expense. The result is not known.‡

Southern authorities are forward to claim indemnity of the free States, when they deem the rights of slaveholders infringed. A colored man wrongfully accused of grand larceny, (a pretext for securing him as a fugitive,) was, on his own confession, sent to the State prison at Sing-Sing, N. Y., in 1849, for two years, and was pardoned out a day before the term of his imprisonment expired, on a representation of the facts to Gov. Hunt by Rev. Dr. Pennington. He escaped to Canada. A Dr. Allen Thomas, of Howard county, Maryland, claims him as his slave, and demands indemnity from the State of New-York. The Legislature and Governor of Maryland endorse the claim, and forward it to the

* *National Anti-slavery Standard*, Aug. 26, 1852.

† Twenty-first Annual Rep. Mass. A. S. Soc., p. 39.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Governor and Legislature of New-York,* as a claim by the State of Maryland.

SOUTHERN DISSENSIONS—DILEMMA—STATE RIGHTS—CONSOLIDATION.

Before dismissing this class of topics, we cannot forbear to notice some of the straits and dilemmas into which, by their own chosen course, the slave States and the pro slavery party are now placed. They can scarcely move in any direction without coming into direct conflict with something they have said, or done, or insisted upon for some other purpose, or in some other connection.

The Democratic party in Kentucky, for example, in unison with their party associates in Virginia, solicitous to establish a strong Southern platform, adopted resolutions declaring that Congress can pass no law to punish any *crime* not specially enumerated in the Constitution. This course was in accordance with the old Virginian Democratic doctrine of *State Rights* and *Limited Federal Powers*. But it evidently declares the main provisions of the FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL of 1850, imposing fines and imprisonment upon those who aid fugitive slaves, to be null and void! This fact the *Whig* editors of Virginia have discovered, and readily charge the result upon their political opponents. And they do not overlook or suppress the fact, that the National Democratic Convention at Baltimore, in erecting the "platform" that *endorsed* the Fugitive Slave Bill, *repeated* its affirmation of the same doctrine, which, *in effect*, and by all fair principles of induction, makes it "NULL AND VOID!" For the Constitution, say they, in its list of crimes punishable by Congress, makes no allusion to the crime of aiding fugitive slaves!

The Whig editors of Virginia have gone farther than this, as will be seen from the following :—

"This may be called strict construction, and so it is; but the Democrats cannot object to it on that account; and besides, *the Supreme Court of the United States* has acted upon this view of the matter, and hence arose the necessity for the present law. That Court, relying possibly upon the authority of this very resolution, or, at all events, arriving at a precisely similar conclusion, declared its opinion that Congress had nothing to do with the rendition of fugitive slaves, but that, under the Constitution, the power 'is reserved, and of right appertains, solely and exclusively to the respective States, each within its own territory!' It was this decision which, more than any other cause perhaps called for the passage of the present Fugitive Slave Law, which the Democratic Convention, by endorsing the Kentucky Resolutions, has declared to be null and of no force."†

Thus far the Southern Whig organs see clearly enough, and readily reveal what they see.

* *Frederick Douglass's Paper*, April 22, 1853.

† *Charlottesville Advocate*, as approvingly copied by the *Richmond Whig*. Vide *New-York Evening Post*, June 23, 1852.

But there is something more *to be* seen there, which they either fail to discover, or willingly hide. Their object in the statements just quoted is *not* to disparage the Fugitive Slave Bill, but to show how the Democratic party, by its theory of State Rights, disparages it. *They* claim, by implication, that the Whigs, in their repudiation of that theory, are in a better position to sustain the Bill. It seems not to occur to them, or they will not confess it, that if the State Rights doctrine of their rivals should be overborne by the exercise of the strong Federal power requisite for the enforcing of the Fugitive Slave Bill, the boasted "State Right" to maintain slavery is swept away, and the Federal Government, addicted to the exercise of such unlimited power *in support* of slavery, would be equally potent, on a change of national policy, contingent on any future election, to cripple and even to *overthrow* slavery!

A dilemma is here presented, from which there is no escape. Neither the Whig creed nor the Democratic creed can avail any thing towards removing it. If the State Rights doctrine predominates, it must nullify the Fugitive Slave Bill, and all kindred Federal enactments. On the other hand, if that doctrine becomes obsolete, the right of maintaining slavery in the States evaporates, and the Federal power over it is established!

As a matter of historical fact, the slave power (as the preceding quotations prove) has made alternate trial of both these theories, and now, by the Fugitive Slave Bill of 1850, settles down upon the theory that explodes the Southern claim of State Rights, and virtually affirms the power of the Federal Government over the whole subject! Strange to tell, (and quite unfortunately for the gratulatory tone of the Virginia Whig editors,) this policy was fastened upon the country by the concurrent action and approbation of both Whigs and Democrats—Calhoun, Cass, and Buchanan, by the side of Fillmore, Webster, and Clay! The entire phalanx of the slave power has fastened this constitutional construction upon the country, and must abide the result!

A lucid and vigorous writer over the signature of "W." in the *National Era* of July 8, 1852, has placed this view in a clear and strong light:—

"In this particular case the South relaxed their vigilance, as it was a measure supposed to be favorable to their interests, and a law insisted upon as an additional bond to the Union; but never was there a greater mistake made at the South than this; never was a more fatal blow given to the Union; never was there an act passed, tending so strongly to consolidation as this. . . . It now seems as if we had no State Government, or that it is weak and puny, overshadowed completely by the Federal Government, either for good or for evil. If for evil, consolidation has brought it upon us, and consolidation must therefore be our remedy. We bide our time. If the General Government is so potent for evil, it must be equally potent for good."

If the General Government may disregard the limitations of the Constitution to infringe original and natural rights, why may it not do the

same to restore and protect them? The records of arrests, trials, judicial decisions and outrages during the past year, are sufficient, at least, to suggest some such reflections and inquiries. It *may* yet prove that these painful and humiliating developments are but a necessary link in the chain of providential preparations for deliverance. The continuance of the Fugitive Slave Bill, with attempts for its enforcement, *especially if successful*, must unquestionably consolidate the Government, with ample powers and precedents for their exercise, not *always* by a petty oligarchy of perhaps 120,000 *slaveholders*, but at length by a majority of MILLIONS OF FREEMEN.

CALIFORNIA — GRADUAL INTRODUCTION OF SLAVERY — CONSPIRACY TO ALTER THE CONSTITUTION, TO DIVIDE, &c.

The train of thought and of facts just presented derives additional force from the consideration that, while the slave power is intent, through the willing action of the Federal Government, to enforce the pro-slavery part of the "Compromise" upon the free States, by arrests, fines, and imprisonments, there has never been, for one moment, the slightest regard paid by the slaveholders to that part of the "Compromise" that nominally assented to the admission of California as a free State. And the Federal Government has not interposed a particle of its power or influence to prevent California from becoming a slave State, nor to prevent or terminate the gross violation of the Federal Constitution, already noticed, in the legislation and jurisprudence of that State, in reducing free citizens of the United States to slavery.

If the Federal Government has power to enforce one part of the "Compromise," why not the other? Or was there only *one side* of a Compromise entered into, or to be enforced?

We have already noticed the legislative and judicial action of California in favor of slavery. In addition to this, we must now advert to the actual process of the emigration of slaveholders into California with their slaves, holding them there in open violation of the Constitution and laws; and to the corresponding efforts for changing the Constitution, or of so dividing the State as to form at least one or two slave States out of it. Southern testimony is full and explicit on these points.

The *Columbus (Ga.) Times* says: "It is now confidently believed that this new State will alter or explain away that portion of her Constitution which prohibits slavery."

The *Richmond (Va.) Dispatch* says, May 12, 1852: "We said, three years ago, in a public journal, that California would be sure to remove every restriction that could be placed upon her by the General Government, and that she would be the largest slaveholder of all the States."
"The way was paved by the last Legislature, when they authorized the

system of Chinese peonage. The next step will be African slavery; and as we here in Virginia are overrun with slaves, *we hope to see it draw off about one half.*"

It is here avowed, that before the "Compromise" was adopted, it was understood at the South that no restrictions imposed by the Federal Government upon California would prevent the introduction of slavery; and that it would become a slave State. What becomes, then, of the pretended "Compromise" that is to be enforced upon the *North*, but which was never for one instant recognized as binding at the South? What binding force on the North can there be in a bargain like this, even if the immorality of the contract did not annul it?

"Gov. McDougal, of California, in his last Message, recommended a Convention for the purpose of revising the Constitution, with a view to the division of the State—a favorite measure of the pro-slavery party. Gov. Bigler, just elected, sets his face against the agitation of slavery, and is devout in his admiration of the Compromise measures. Among the candidates for the senatorship were Ex-Governor Smith, of Virginia, a rampant slavery man, Robert McLane, who signalized himself in Congress, two years ago, by his hostility to anti-slavery men, and another citizen of a slave State. J. B. Weller, formerly of Ohio, and one of the bitterest foes of the Anti-slavery cause, *was elected*. These facts show the leading influences in the new State."*

The *Southern Press* intimates that California may yet be divided. The *Washington Union* anticipates the same, and maintains that it would be no violation of the "Compromise!"†

A correspondent of the New-York *Evening Post*, (as copied into the *National Era*,) writing from San Francisco, Nov. 14, 1852, expresses the apprehension that many, in some parts of the State, who are opposed to slavery, would nevertheless be induced to join with pro-slavery men in calling for a Convention, because of their dissatisfaction with the Constitution on other grounds. He adds:

"Slavery is to be excluded from the mines and admitted into the agricultural portions of the State! [As though a law should be passed confining a conflagration or the cholera to the valleys and plains, and forbidding it in the mountains!] Then some few specious provisions are to be thrown in for the benefit of the native Californian counties, on the subject of taxation, &c.; and the whole instrument, thus hocus-pocussed, is to be presented in a lump to be voted for, in the hope that, taking the good with the bad, and by another concerted movement among the pro-slavery men, the amended Constitution may slip through, and California be reduced to the level of Arkansas, Texas, and Mississippi. . . . With scarce a press sure for freedom—two or three Democratic papers dead against us—the Whig papers either hostile or silent—hardly any of the leading men in either party who is not a fanatic for slavery, or in his heart false to freedom and the State, there seems little room for hope."‡

The Legislature met on the 3d of January, 1853. The Governor in his Message recommended the calling of a Constitutional Convention,

* *National Era*, March 11, 1852.

† *Ibid*.

‡ See *National Era*, Dec. 30, 1852.

ostensibly to abolish certain offices created by the Constitution, but maintaining silence respecting the real object in view.*

The next item of information that reaches us is the following:—

“The division of California into three States, distinct and separate, is now contemplated and pressed there. A majority of the Legislature, it is said, will order a State Convention.”†

The next we hear is that the Convention question is opened in the Legislature, and that a Committee of the Senate have reported favorably to the measure. The same writer says:

“Slaves have frequently been introduced into the State, and, after working to the satisfaction of their owners, have been forcibly carried back. To help the transportation of such persons, it is well understood that an ‘underground railroad’ [i. e. a line of secret transportation] has been constructed to Panama.”‡

Soon came the announcement that the Convention Bill had passed the Assembly, and was expected to pass the Senate. Pro-slavery legislation and jurisprudence glide on quietly and swimmingly, without a ripple of unpleasant excitement, in regions where *reckless Abolitionists* are not *riveting the fetters of the slaves, and putting off emancipation fifty years by their imprudence!*

The exultation of the Southern presses on this intelligence is unbounded. Says the *Southern Era*, (Richmond, Va.): “SLAVERY DOES EXIST in California now, and WILL CONTINUE to exist until it becomes unprofitable. Do what you will, and say what you will, this thing must come to pass.”§ Yet in California, at the same time, while no pains were spared by circulars and correspondence to secure the united action of Southern and pro-slavery men in favor of a Convention, it was strenuously denied, for a time, that the object was either the division of the State or the introduction of slavery. But the object could not be concealed,|| and is no longer denied.

The result remains to be seen. But we are warranted in two practical conclusions: (1.) *Abolitionists* should learn better than to content themselves with *mere* efforts to prevent slavery extension, or to expect the overthrow of slavery by such appliances. (2.) *Non-extensionists* should likewise learn that there is but *one* way to prevent the extension of slavery, and that is by its utter extirpation without delay.

While the friends of liberty have been contesting the issue whether slavery should be extended into new States, it is seen steadily extending itself into the contested regions, as well as into Illinois, a free State!

* *National Era*, Feb. 24, 1853.

† Correspondent of *New-York Tribune*. Vide *National Era*, March 31, 1853.

§ Vide *National Era*, May 5, 1853.

‡ Ibid., March 31, 1853.

|| Ibid., April 14, 1853.

This is no ground for discouragement, but only for dropping the *defensive* policy and resuming the *aggressive*. We are driven to the alternative of either giving up the contest with defeat, or of raising a higher issue by reviving with unanimity and pressing with vigor the *original demand* of Abolitionists, twenty years ago, for "THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL ABOLITION OF SLAVERY." As it was this demand that first broke the slumbers of the nation, so nothing short of its continued reiteration can present the true issue, and fix the public attention to the problem to be solved.

NEW TERRITORIES.—DOUBTFUL PROSPECTS.

At the late session of Congress, a bill passed the House for organizing the Territory of NEBRASKA, but it was defeated in the Senate. The ground of objection openly avowed by some Senators, particularly by General Atchison, was, that it was protected from slavery by the Ordinance of 1787, and by the Missouri "*Compromise!*" Here, again, the part of the "*Compromise*" intended to favor liberty cannot, it seems, be carried into effect. In the meantime, it has been intimated that the organization of the Territory would only open the way for slavery, and that the executive appointments of judges and officers would be likely to favor such a result. Others say that emigrants will go there whether the Territory is organized or not, and if any of them defy the laws by carrying slaves with them, the practice could be more effectually suppressed by the Federal Courts than without them. Thus does Liberty need to contest vigilantly her foothold in the North west.*

This is seen also in the case of the Territory of WASHINGTON, just organized. The New-York *Express* denies that slavery is excluded from that Territory. Yet it was formed out of the Territory of Oregon, which was included in the Ordinance of 1787, excluding slavery, and which, on its organization in 1848, was expressly recognized by act of Congress, as being entitled to all the privileges, and subject to all the conditions and restrictions of that ordinance. A question, it seems, is raised by a Northern editor, whether the subsequent division of the Territory takes away those rights and restrictions, and thus exposes it to the inroads of slavery! On such flimsy prettexts are doubts raised; and it seems to be held that (by reversing the common law maxim) *slavery*, and not *liberty*, is to have the benefit of the uncertainty!

PROBLEM IN TEXAS.

There is a project for the division of Texas. Some advocate it as a means of increasing the power of slavery in the United States Senate.

* See National Era, April 14, 1853.

Some oppose it through fear that, if divided, the western division would become a free State. However the problem may be disposed of, the slaveholders will doubtless compass sea and land to have it in their own way, which will of course be the one that is thought to promise most advantages to slavery.* But in either case, the providential course of events will, we trust, turn their wisdom into foolishness.

NEW-MEXICO AND UTAH.

By a recent communication to the Corresponding Secretary from an intelligent and trustworthy correspondent, Rev. W. G. Kephart, we learn that there are supposed to be a few *black* slaves in the Territory of Utah, and a large number of *Indians*. The people are generally opposed to slavery, their soil being embraced within the prohibitory Ordinance of 1787. Mr. Kephart remarks :

"In New-Mexico the case is somewhat different. A considerable portion of it at least is not secured by any statute or ordinance to freedom. The southern portion of the region is not so uncongenial to the growth and expansion of slavery, but that they might exist there and even be made profitable. . . . That Southern men do not account it impossible is evident from the fact that, from the very first, they have been manœuvring for its introduction. I need not cite to you the struggle in Congress during the turbulent sessions of 1849-50, which resulted in the passage of the 'Compromise' bills. Nor need I refer you to the organic law then given to New-Mexico, by the provisions of which that Territory was thrown open, so far as it could be, to the introduction of slavery. . . . In opposition to the known and expressed wishes of a vast majority of the people, a Southerner of the extreme type was appointed by the last Administration for its first Governor. . . . A Chief Justice was appointed of the same type, thus placing the executive and judicial Department in the hands of those who, it was doubtless understood, would use their power and influence, as occasion might require, for the support of slavery. At the same time, every man who was appointed to office there, and was *afterwards* suspected of entertaining sentiments favorable to freedom, was denounced by slaveholding members in Congress; and Judge Watts would probably have been removed, had not Mr. Foote assured his Southern colleagues that he was not an Abolitionist. . . . The same policy controls the present Administration, and consequently the same policy is adopted. One Mississippi Chief Justice is removed only to have his place filled by another from the same State; while Borland, of Arkansas, has been appointed to the executive office, although the people of the Territory had sent their petitions, numerous signed, praying for the appointment of Cunningham, of Ohio."

When Mr. Kephart first went to Santa Fé in 1850, as agent for this Society and the American Missionary Association, the Southerners claimed the Territory as theirs, and denied his right to circulate Anti-slavery tracts there, threatening him with mob-violence. Though temporarily held in check, they do not seem to have relinquished their claims.

The Southern programme of operations, Mr. Kephart understands to be *division*, (as in Texas and California,) relinquishing only the northern part to freedom, then a renewed invasion and conquest of the Mexican States.

* National Era, February 24, 1853.

INVASION OF MEXICAN TERRITORY BY NEW-MEXICO.

Already, as it would seem, the process of Mexican invasion is recommenced! The late Governor of New-Mexico, Mr. Lane, (now superseded by Mr. Borland,) not long before the close of his official career, made an armed incursion into Mesilla Valley, in Chihuahua, and took forcible possession. His entrance was resisted, though without bloodshed. It seems that the treaty with Mexico provided that joint commissioners and surveyors should run a line between the United States and Mexico. They did so, but did not agree upon the correct boundary. Lane, without instructions from Government, as is alleged, undertook to obtain possession of the territory that, in his judgment, belonged to the United States under the treaty. Mexico has taken offense and sent a force to defend the Territory. It was supposed that our Government would disclaim the act of Governor Lane, but instead of doing so, it is reported that the measure will be justified and sustained. It is well that, by Article XXI. of the treaty with Mexico, both powers bind themselves, in case any disagreement should arise, that they will endeavor to settle the difference by pacific negotiations, and resort shall not be had to hostilities of any kind until efforts are made to settle the same by the arbitration of commissioners appointed on each side, or by that of a friendly nation.

Most sincerely do we hope that peace may long continue between the respective countries; but past events evince that no treaty is likely to stand with feeble neighbors while the thirst for new territory and the strife for the extension of slavery exist to the extent they have done, and while the political parties of the country are so obsequious to the slave power.

PROJECTED ANNEXATION OF CUBA.

What has the United States to do with Cuba, any more than it has to do with Newfoundland? If the one is wanted by the South, why is not the other for the North? If the planters need the one, why do not the fishermen need the other? If Cuba were not wanted to strengthen the *slave power* in the national councils, the world would never have heard of American aspiration after Cuba. Should the Spanish Government abolish slavery in Cuba, and should France and England, in conjunction with Spain, give public pledges that they would never see it re-established there, there would be a perpetual quietus to projects for the annexation of Cuba!

As it is, there has been some little misgiving among the slaveholders. It has been feared that, like another California, it may set up pretensions to freedom. The Southern councils have at times been divided, or the final onset would have been made before now; but the reckless and

daring among them seem to predominate over the timid and cautious. Preparations and devices for the annexation of Cuba constitute no inconsiderable element of political thought and activity in the slave States. The questions discussed have main reference to the time and method of annexation. The more impetuous are for taking forcible possession at once, either with or without the open sanction and aid of the Federal Government. The more wary would wait "for the fruit to ripen," and would secure by negotiation and management the object desired.

Within the past year there have been developments that have placed these facts upon the page of the world's history in clear sunlight, and have attested, in the most documentary and official form, their truthfulness.

The forcible invasion of Cuba by armaments fitted out from the United States, with little or no secrecy, and with no effectual efforts by the Federal Government to prevent it, was already well known. But the long-settled policy and determined perseverance of the *Federal Government itself* to obtain Cuba was *not* generally or circumstantially known, until officially communicated to Congress by President Fillmore, July 13, 1852, in compliance with a request of Congress for information on that subject. How it came to pass that this information was solicited, how the President came to communicate it, and above all, how Congress came to give it publicity, is a problem to be solved only by a reverent reference to the providence of Him who taketh the wise in their own craftiness, brings to light the hidden things of darkness, and convicts the workers of iniquity by their own voluntary testimony. No disclosures have been more astounding, or better calculated to stimulate a general discussion of the slavery question, in its relation to the Federal Government, than those contained in this Message—none furnishing stronger arguments for vigorous and radical political Abolitionism at home—none presenting a more humiliating picture of our Republican Government to the inspection of both friends and enemies abroad.

From this document it appears that, from November, 1822, to December, 1848, a period of twenty-six years, and under all the successive administrations of the Government, from Monroe to Polk, a continuous course of policy has been pursued, anticipating the future occupancy of Cuba. National Republicans and Nullifiers, Whigs and Democrats, appear to have been united in this policy; showing here, as in every thing else, that amid all minor wranglings and struggles of rivals for office, the SUPPORT OF SLAVERY is the one overshadowing, paramount, and steady policy of the Government!*

No marvel that some of the pro-slavery editors, as well as senators,

* *National Era*, Dec. 9, 1853.

found fault with Mr. Fillmore for thus "disclosing the secrets of our diplomacy!" It would be wiser to find fault with the *acts* of the Government than with the *revelation* of them.

The *National Era* says :

The publication of these documents, as has been well observed, "presents our Government in an attitude calculated to arouse the jealousy of European powers. Spain and the world now know the policy of the American Government in relation to Cuba—how it longs for the acquisition—by what means it has attempted to gratify its passion—what price it is willing to pay—what advantages it expects to secure—by what acts it has attempted to influence the feelings of Spain against England, and awaken its fears of revolution. In a word, the position and purposes of our Government are fully disclosed. A few more such disclosures, and we may expect to stand an Ishmael among the nations." *

Already the public ear is becoming accustomed to DEBATES IN CONGRESS ON THE ANNEXATION OF CUBA! On the 23d of Dec., 1853, Mr. Mason, of Virginia, in the Senate, submitted a Resolution calling on the President for information respecting Cuba. Yet in this speech he blamed the President for having communicated *so much* information, in compliance with the former request of Congress! "*The ends and objects we desire,*" said he, "*should not be uselessly promulged!*" A gentle hint to secure garbled communications in future—suppressing whatever might cause agitation; for, said Mr. Mason, "So far as the acquisition of Cuba is involved, the Administration has done little to expedite it by divulging that correspondence." "I do not question the motives of the President, but I do question his judgment. Whatever it was intended to effect, one consequence must be the result—the postponement of the acquisition of that island to a more distant period than if the correspondence had not been divulged." Yet he adds, "It may postpone the acquisition, but it cannot prevent it." "It would occur as certainly as the earth revolved on its axis."†

Mr. Mason should be reminded that Mr. Fillmore is not the only statesman whose devotion to the interests of slaveholders has betrayed him into the adoption of measures that work against them. Mr. Mason's own pet, the Fugitive Slave Bill, has been even more unfortunate than Mr. Fillmore's compliance with the request of Congress.

It is amusing to notice some of the pretexts and pleas insinuated in favor of the annexation of Cuba. The public are sometimes gravely reminded that the horrible *African* slave-trade is carried on in Cuba; that Spain encourages it, because she derives her revenues and existence chiefly from Cuba. It is hence covertly inferred that Spain is not fit to have charge of the island. *This* is represented as among the "grounds of dissatisfaction" in Cuba; and their sympathizers in the United States,

* Dec. 2, 1852.

† *National Anti-slavery Standard*, Dec. 30, 1852.

in palliation of their "filibustering" schemes, transform themselves almost into Abolitionists by the implication that *humanity* requires the transfer of Cuba to the *United States*, as though *that* would secure the suppression of the slave trade.*

At the same time, the efforts of the British Government, in its treaty stipulations, to terminate the slave-trade and favor freedom in the island, are denounced as impertinent intermeddling. Through these efforts, it is understood that, resulting from treaty stipulations concerning the slave-trade, there is a large and increasing body of "FREEDMEN" in Cuba, whose continued freedom is in a manner guaranteed by the terms of the treaty with England. It is even questioned whether a more full and equitable compliance with the treaty would not emancipate a pretty large proportion, "probably the majority," of the remaining slaves on the island, as having been illegally imported in violation of the treaty. It is known that the British Government has an eye to the subject: the result cannot be foreseen.†

In the meantime, no opportunities are neglected for involving the United States in a controversy with Spain, or at least with the authorities of Cuba, as a pretext for seizing upon the island. The exclusion of the steamer *Crescent City*, Capt. Porter, from the harbor of Havana, some time last autumn, afforded one of those opportunities. It was certainly very pardonable in the Cuban authorities, after all that had occurred, to keep up a vigilant watch against invaders from the United States! Yet it is found easy, on such grounds, to inflame the passions of the ignorant, and to keep up constantly before the public, for the basest ends, a parade of "Cuban aggressions" and "difficulties with Cuba." As in the case of Mexico, the slavery factionists will not rest until they have tried every expedient with the Federal Government, to acquire Cuba before emancipation takes place in the island. But *should* slavery be abolished in Cuba, (as it was in Mexico, including Texas,) it would by the annexation be restored, if the people of the United States did not, meantime, awaken from their stupor and prevent the outrage.

The Washington *Union*, the would-be central organ of the party that elected and that supports President Pierce, is an open and avowed advocate of Cuban annexation,‡ and the Belfast (Me.) *Journal* takes the same ground.§ The Administration of President Pierce is claimed as being in favor of the measure, and none of the prominent supporters of the Administration are known to have called in question the correctness of the claim, or to have expressed regret for the fact.

* See *New-York Times*, April 23, 1853; *National Anti-slavery Standard*, Jan. 27, 1853, and *New-York Tribune* of April 19, 1853.

† *New-York Tribune*, April 15, 1853.

‡ Vide extract from the *Union* of Nov. 2, in *National Era*, Nov. 18, 1852.

§ *Ibid*.

PROPOSED ANNEXATION OF THE SANDWICH ISLANDS.

THE public mind has been somewhat agitated with discussions respecting the annexation of these islands to the United States. Newspapers favorable to such a project have been filled with stories about the dissatisfaction of the people of those islands with their government; and with statements that it is for the interest of the people of both countries that annexation should take place. They even desired that the annexation question should be made one of the issues of the late Presidential election. The *New-York Herald*, with its accustomed audacity, has published real or pretended letters from Honolulu, in which the importance of the island is greatly magnified, and the necessity of its annexation to the United States vehemently urged! It was reported some months since, that a private expedition was fitting out in California to obtain possession of the islands, by hook or by crook.

These unexpected discussions and reports have, as might be supposed, excited some attention at the islands. We quote a passage from the *Polynesian*, the editor of which, after transferring to its columns the filibustering reports of the California and other American newspapers, says:

"We caution the public against such attacks upon a kingdom at perfect peace within itself and with all the world. The statements made are, many of them, greatly exaggerated, and others too ridiculously false to require refutation. We give them for what they are worth—that is, just nothing at all, except to show how easy it is for some men to utter untruths, to exaggerate facts, and to deceive the American public by misrepresentation."

It is evident that there are individuals at the islands and in the United States interested in annexation, who coöperate to spread extravagant statements, with a view to pave the way for the accomplishment of their purposes. They speak of the imbecility of the king of the islands; the discontent of his subjects; the improvements that annexation would introduce into this "Cuba of the Pacific," to use their own expression; the inevitable destiny of the islanders, and the certain progress of the Anglo-Saxon race. Meantime the peaceful and unoffending inhabitants of the islands, and their government, are astounded at the rapacity of the Model Republic, imagining that the loud-mouthed publications who declaim so much about the inevitableness of the annexation, utter the voice of the American people.

TREATMENT OF HAYTI.

The general policy of the American Government in relation to Hayti has long been before a scrutinizing world, but the developments of the past year have added an important chapter to the stock of previous in-

formation. If the administration of Mr. Fillmore deserves any thanks from the friends of freedom, it is for the readiness with which it has spread before Congress and the world those long-concealed secrets of our national diplomacy which reveal more distinctly than ever the depths of servility to which the Federal Government has descended, in its subserviency to the petty oligarchy of slaveholders.

Not content with having refused, since the year 1804, a recognition of the independence of Hayti, to the great detriment of our commercial interests, the Government, it now seems, has had the meanness to interfere with her affairs, while refusing honorable international intercourse with her;—has secretly plotted against her peace, and has added insult to injury in the tone of arrogance officially held towards her.

A union, it should be remembered, was effected, in 1822, between Hayti and certain portions of Dominica, inhabited by French and Spanish negroes. Some years since, Dominica revolted against the Haytien Government, and declared independence. Into the merits of the controversy we need not now enter. It is sufficient to know that the Government of the United States had no right to interfere with it; that it was impertinent to intermeddle against Hayti, especially while refusing to recognize her among the family of nations. But all this, and more, was done.

Successive Administrations had sent secret emissaries to Dominica to stimulate the rebellion against Hayti, without the concurrence of Congress, or the knowledge of the American people, thus clandestinely compromising the neutrality of the United States in violation of important trusts, and by an exercise of usurped and unconstitutional power. And this is not all. Great Britain and France, on some prettexts, had interested themselves in an adjustment of the controversy, and had assumed a tone of dictation towards Hayti. This presented a fit occasion for the assertion, by our Government, of the non-intervention doctrine of President Monroe, so much gloried in, declaring it impertinent and inadmissible for the European Governments to intermeddle in the affairs of this Western Hemisphere. But so far from remonstrating against *this* interference, our Government eagerly availed itself of it for the purposes it had in view, and coöperated in measures for making it effectual. Not content with this, its emissary, Mr. Hogan, concocted a plan for a *white* republic on the eastern part of the island of Hayti: and cool prophecies were circulated in the papers, “that the *white* race would yet have to interfere for the cause of humanity, and re-subjugate or exterminate the blacks of Hayti, fast relapsing into barbarism!” These hints and feelers, somewhat enigmatical and mysterious at the time, are better understood now, in the light of the diplomatic correspondence that has

been published.* A plan was likewise projected, and announced by a manifesto of General Duff Green, for *the colonization and subjugation of St. Domingo*. In short, the design of the slave power to get possession of St. Domingo is now no more a secret (to those who will open their eyes on public affairs) than the design to annex Cuba: no more a secret than was the design, a few years ago, to annex Texas, and to dismember and reënslave Mexico. Here, again, we are certified that there *is* and *can* be only *one way* to prevent the extension of American slavery, and that is by the speedy and vigorous extirpation of American slavery itself. Instead of saying, "If it is suffered to expand, it will continue to exist," we should say, "If suffered to exist, it will continue to expand." Should the Sandwich Islands be annexed, there would be an almost resistless effort and tendency to their enslavement. If the nation expands, it will, of necessity, expand *ITSELF*; and remaining pro-slavery, its expansion must be pro-slavery extension. "Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?"

A petition to Congress in favor of the recognition of the independence of Hayti has been signed by fifty among the most enterprising merchants in the city of Boston, *not* for the purposes of Anti-slavery agitation, but for the protection of their own commercial interests. They state that Hayti has been *de facto* an independent state since her declaration of independence, January 1st, 1804; and *de jure* since July, 1825, by recognition of France under Charles X., and all the great powers of Europe. They recapitulate a mass of facts showing the commercial importance of the island, and the extensive interests of her merchants involved in commerce with it, which need to be regulated and established on a firm basis. A similar petition has been forwarded from merchants in New-York.† If the people of Hayti were *white*, these petitions would receive prompt and favorable attention. But the reception of *black* consuls into our American ports, and of a *black* minister to the seat of government at Washington, would be offensive to slaveholders, and might inspire ideas of the capabilities of the colored race, inconsistent with prevailing theories, and incompatible with the perpetuity of their enslavement! And so the commercial interests of the country must take care of themselves, so far as Hayti is concerned! Perhaps a memorial to the "Union Safety Committee" should have preceded the memorials to Congress. The course of our diplomacy, in the meantime, appears in the following:

The commercial agents of this country had been recognized in Hayti

* See *National Era*, Dec. 23, 1852; Jan. 6, 1853; Feb. 10, 1853; *National Anti-slavery Standard*, Dec. 23, 1852; Feb. 8, 1853. Also Pamphlet, "Plea for Hayti," by B. C. Clarke, Boston.

† *National Era*, July 29, 1852; *National Anti-slavery Standard*, July 22, 1852.

as consuls. Mr. Green, agent of the United States Government at Hayti, had been instructed "to propose to the Haytien Government an arrangement for the mutual recognition of the United States consuls in Hayti, and Haytien consuls in the United States," the arrangement not to be binding on the United States, "till made known here for consideration!" By this very singular finesse, the party soliciting overtures for arrangements advertises beforehand its unpreparedness for the measure! But the Haytien Government, magnanimously overlooking this equivocal feature of the overture, promptly informed our Government that the commercial agents of the American Government in Hayti were *already* recognized as consuls, requesting the American Government to recognize B. C. Clarke as Haytien consul at Boston. But this request was declined in the following paragraph from Mr. Webster, our Secretary of State, to Mr. Walsh, the successor of Mr. Green, January 18, 1851:

"With this request we are not prepared to comply, but are willing that he, *or any other person*, NOT OF AFRICAN EXTRACTION, should be appointed *commercial agent* of Hayti at Boston, or any other United States port where Haytien commerce may be supposed to require." *

The intended distinction is readily understood. If the Federal Government should recognize Haytien *consuls* instead of commercial agents, there would seem to be an implied recognition of the Haytien nation, which might lead to a more formal recognition, or prove a precedent for receiving a Haytien minister, who might be a *black man*! And the occasion was considered a fitting one for an official declaration from the Department of State that it could recognize no foreign official of "African extraction." Yet a person of "African extraction" is just as eligible, under the Constitution, to the office of President or Secretary of State, as a white man!

It may deserve inquiry, after all, whether the intended distinction is a successful one. If there be no Haytien Government, what mean "commercial agents" to it? What mean the missions to it of such officials as Messrs. Green and Walsh? What mean communications *through* these officials from the American Department of State, with proposals and declinations to be addressed to "*the Haytien Government?*" Is there no *matter-of-fact* or implied recognition of the Haytien Government in all this? If one Administration may cautiously propose a mutual recognition of consuls, may not another Administration on due "*consideration*" recognize them, and recognize a black minister at Washington? What is wanting but a public sentiment that shall demand it? Nothing! It may be discovered a few years hence that President Fill-

* *National Era*, Dec. 23, 1852.

more and Secretary Webster *did de facto*, or by unavoidable implication, recognize the Haytian Government in 1851. It would not be any more an usurpation of power than is developed in the diplomatic correspondence before the public.

INDEPENDENCE OF LIBERIA.

And what bearing is the policy of the Government to have upon the destinies of Liberia? A republic in Africa, we were told, was to be built up, in order that its reflex influence upon the United States might teach the capabilities and illustrate the dignity of the colored race. This was the plea at the North of the Colonization Society. Well. They have enjoyed the public favor. They have produced, they say, an independent republic. Will the leading influences of the Society, Southern and Northern, acknowledge it as such? Will they earnestly and perseveringly insist upon its recognition by the Federal Government. *If they will, they will succeed.* Abolitionists will not oppose them. *We shall see.* Liberia has been recognized by England and other powers, but not by the United States. Why not?

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

By some of our Northern citizens it has been supposed that a part of the famous "Compromise" of 1850, which included the Fugitive Slave Bill, secured likewise the termination of the slave-traffic and the discontinuance of slave auctions in the Federal District. *This is a mistake*, as may be seen in the frequent advertisements, in such respectable papers as the *National Intelligencer*, of SLAVE AUCTIONS IN WASHINGTON CITY. The following may serve as a specimen:—

By E. N. STRATTON, Auctioneer, Pennsylvania Avenue, corner of Ninth street. NEGRO BOY AT AUCTION, for account of whom it may concern. Peremptory sale for cash in bankable funds. On Saturday morning, February 5, at ten o'clock, at my Auction Room, I shall sell one likely Negro Boy, Slave for life; highly recommended as a superior house, dining-room, or body servant; fifteen years old, and well grown for his age. Feb. 4.

On account of bad weather the sale was postponed to the 8th, when the lad was sold for \$750 to a purchaser in Georgia. He cried bitterly during the operation. Probably he had parents living.*

Barbara Peterson, known as "Aunt Barbara" in Washington City, has a son *Henry*, whose time she (the mother) hired from his "owner," at eight dollars per month, and had paid him punctually hundreds of dollars; and Henry had proposed to *buy himself*; but the master was

* *National Era*, Feb. 17, 1853.

inexorable. One day, while attending to his business, he was arrested by two constables, dragged before a *magistrate*, manacled, dispatched to Baltimore, and thrown into a slave-pen. He had been sold to a slave-dealer! A sympathy was excited in favor of Henry and his agonized mother. An officer of the United States army, the Mayor of Washington, and other citizens, the majority of them slaveholders, raised the sum of \$1000, demanded for him by the trader, and restored him to his mother—a deed of humanity that deserves honorable mention; while the *occasion* illustrates the barbarous Code of the Federal District, for which the entire nation, *the North* EVEN MORE *than the South*, (as holding the majority of power,) is responsible.*

Some time before this, an advertisement appeared in the *National Intelligencer* as follows:—

Piano-forte, Household and kitchen furniture, Negro boy, horses, harness, carryall, carts, farming utensils, &c., at Auction. On Saturday morning, Dec. 11, at 11 o'clock, in front of the Auction Rooms, I shall sell without reserve, &c., &c.

One negro boy, 18 years of age.

Also one negro girl.

3 horses, saddles, bridle, and harness.

Carryall, 2 carts, and wheelbarrow.

One rake, 2 plows, Cultivator.

Hay cart, lot of farm harness, &c.

Terms Cash.

JAMES C. MCGUIRE, Auct.

The slaves were part of the estate of the late Jesse Brown, proprietor of Brown's Hotel. Marshall Brown, one of the heirs, intended to buy the boy at a reasonable price. He was struck off to him at \$325, but a trader, named Naylor, claimed the bid as his. He was put up again, and struck off to Naylor at \$330. The auctioneer (who had previously offered \$25 to any person who would relieve him from the necessity of selling the slaves) offered Naylor \$25 if he would not bid any more. This was accepted, with the remark that he "*had as lief make twenty-five dollars in this way as to make it out of a nigger!*" The poor trembling boy was delivered to Mr. Brown.†

It fared worse with the poor girl. She, only ten years of age, was next set up, and, in the presence of its agonized mother, was struck off to Judge STURGIS, of Georgia; and this child was, as is supposed, sent immediately to that distant State to drag out a miserable existence in the cotton field, without a single human friend on whom to rely in case of sickness or distress!

So much for the boasted "Compromise." The Act of 1850, says the *National Era*, (Feb. 3,) "simply prohibited the *importation of slaves into this District*, for sale here, or to be placed in depot for sale elsewhere.

* *National Era*, Jan. 6, 1853.

† *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1853.

That is all. It did not touch the buying and selling of slaves *already in the District.*"

It may be noticed further that, as the restriction is only upon the importation of slaves into the District, *for sale* out of the District, there seems to be no impediment to the importation of them *for service*. And if afterwards an estate is to be divided or settled, like that of Mr. Brown's, or if an attachment is made for debt, a slave thus imported, if put upon the auction-stand, would derive no benefit from the restriction, not having been imported for the purpose of sale out of the District.

The enactments and the customs of the Federal District in respect to the so-called "*free people of color*," remain as they were before. "*FREE negroes*," recognized in statutes and publicly advertised *as being* such, may still be *sold at auction* to pay their jail fees, in cases where the imprisonment was made on the mere *suspicion* of their being fugitive slaves, and their wrongful arrest and detention under that suspicion.

In Washington City no "*FREE black or mulatto person*" is permitted to go at large after ten o'clock at night, without a pass, unless engaged in driving a cart or carriage, or returning from a religious meeting, or on an errand from the owner or employer. Under this ordinance, "Isaac N. Carey, a most respectable and orderly free man of color, was fined by a justice of the peace ten dollars." He applied to the Circuit Court, and "His Honor Judge Dunlap delivered the written opinion of the Court affirming the judgment;"* an additional instance of the atrocious character of judicial decisions in sections where the Abolitionists have not been suffered to exert themselves freely for the purification of public sentiment. Not a shadow of foundation for the constitutional validity and legality of such ordinances, or of slavery itself, can be produced before any tribunal! And yet they are enforced by the Federal Courts! This fact presents *one* point of effort—the LIBERATION OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, in which it is to be hoped all the friends of the Constitution and of liberty will agree, and make their power felt. Why should not millions of signatures to suitable memorials against slavery in the Federal District be presented to the next Congress, in array against only 113,000 slaveholders?

RELEASE OF DRAYTON AND SAYRES.

After an imprisonment of four years in the Federal District for the crime of assisting native Americans to exercise the gift of locomotion "in pursuit of happiness," in the use of the schooner "*Pearl*," Drayton and Sayres were released by an act of executive clemency, in August, 1852.

* *National Era*, April 28, 1853.

A petition in their behalf from Boston had been presented to President Fillmore some months previous. The President is said to have doubted his power in the premises. Mr. Sumner, senator from Massachusetts, prepared an elaborate argument and presented it for his consideration. The question was laid before the Attorney-General, who concurred with Mr. Sumner, and the pardon was granted.* It may not be deemed indecorous to suggest the inquiry whether the President and his friends were not in a more favorable position to examine candidly the subject after the anxieties preceding and during the two great Nominating Conventions at Baltimore had passed away, leaving them at leisure to reflect upon the political benefits of subserviency to slaveholders. Drayton and Sayres will have no occasion, we think, to regret the decision by which the name of Millard Fillmore was dropped from the list of Presidential candidates. The slave power is in a way of digesting some useful lessons of experience in respect to Presidential candidates who are Presidents. There are delicate problems to be disposed of in such cases. There *may* arrive exigences in which a message, a measure of diplomacy, a signature of approval, a withheld veto, on the part of such a retiring President, may work mischiefs to the slaveocracy more formidable than this exercise of the pardoning power by President Fillmore. Between the rival claims of fresh aspirants and old worn-out servants, it may sometimes be hazardous to decide. And an overruling Providence, the dread of atheists and evil doers, may yet ripen the hazard into discomfiture. No high principles, no lofty sentiments, no godlike aims, bind together the conspirators against American freedom, Northern and Southern. Their combinations are all founded on the base instincts of selfishness, and must ultimately be broken in pieces.

COLORED SEAMEN.

The ordinances of Southern seaport cities, sanctioned in some instances by State enactments, and upheld by the courts, by which colored seamen from the free States and foreign countries are thrown into prison on their arrival, and detained, at an expense charged to the ship-owners, until the vessel is ready to depart, has been a source of much vexation and complaint. The efforts of Massachusetts to test the validity of these ordinances in the courts were indignantly repelled, and her public agents, Messrs. Hoare and Hubbard, it will be remembered, were ejected by the authorities of Charleston and New-Orleans.

On former occasions, the remonstrances of the British Minister at

* *National Anti-slavery Standard*, Aug. 19, 1852.

Washington City against such outrages have been answered by assurances that the National Government could not interpose in the affairs of the sovereign State of South Carolina : and thus the theory that the National Government alone can sustain foreign relations and conduct international business has been abandoned, and Great Britain has been referred to the independent nation of South Carolina for redress. Whether, under such circumstances, an interruption of amicable relations between the two independent sovereignties of South Carolina and Great Britain would necessarily involve a rupture between the United States and Great Britain, and whether South Carolina could look to the Federal Government for assistance in a war thus commenced, have been questions earnestly pondered ; and it has been foreseen that whenever the practical problem should be presented, there would be fresh topics of thrilling anti-slavery agitation, as well as some new aspects of the old question whether, or what degree of, State independency can subsist with the functions of a National Government. How soon, if at all, these questions may press upon us, cannot now be foreseen ; but recent events have shown that it is not too early to direct the public attention to them.

On the 24th of March, 1852, a Glasgow vessel, on her return voyage from Jamaica, was driven into the port of Charleston by stress of weather. The captain and crew had scarcely landed when she went to the bottom. One of the crew, Manuel Pereira, of African descent, was immediately seized and conveyed to jail. The British Consul, George Matthew, Esq., thought this a fair opportunity of testing the law, against which he had previously remonstrated, and of which he had suggested to Gov. Means some modification. The Governor afterwards said that this was under consideration, when Mr. Matthew sued for a *habeas corpus* in the courts of the State. The application was rejected by Judge Withers. The Consul then appealed to the higher court, upon which the authorities, apparently alarmed, endeavored to ship Pereira off, to evade a legal scrutiny.

The *British and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter* states :—

“But the Consul, finding that his great object would be thus defeated, intercepted the Sheriff on his way to the vessel, with Pereira still in custody, and had the latter reconveyed to prison, until, having completed his arrangements for carrying on the appeal, and given due notice thereof to the Sheriff, he paid Pereira's passage to New-York, who thus recovered his liberty.”

Here is another case :—

“On the 19th of May, the steamer Clyde arrived in Charleston from the Bahamas. On board her was a colored seaman named Renben Roberts, who was in like manner forthwith seized by the Sheriff and conveyed to jail, where he remained until the 26th, when, the Clyde being ready to sail, Roberts was put on board, and departed the same day. . . . We are informed, upon the

very best authority, that in 1851, thirty-seven British subjects were seized and incarcerated, and forty-two in the course of the last year. And there is no doubt of many free colored British subjects having been sold into slavery under the operations of this law, all traces of whom have been lost. The cases of Pereira and Roberts are, however, now being prosecuted, with a view of bringing the subject before the Supreme Court of the United States. The Legislature of South Carolina asserts its intention of resisting to the last any attempt to abate one jot or tittle of the law; alleging as its reason for making so resolute a stand, that an attempt has been made to defy the law, and bring the States of North and South Carolina into conflict with the Federal Government.*

It was understood that Mr. Fillmore's administration favored the side of South Carolina. The *Charleston (S. C.) Standard*, after complaining that the Administration had for a long time preserved an unequivocal position, announces that the "*Washington Republic*, Mr. Fillmore's organ, comes out flatly in favor of the law."†

The cases of Pereira and Roberts were brought before the British Parliament by Mr. Moncton Mills, in the summer of 1852, and the main facts disclosed.

The *New-York Evening Post*, April 25, says, "The Circuit Court at Charleston having decided against the British Consul, an appeal has been taken to the Supreme Court."‡

In the mean time, it is understood that some modifications of these port laws have been made in Louisiana and Alabama; but of the extent and degree we are not informed; nor whether (as some accounts say) the relaxations are in reference only to colored seamen from foreign countries.§

Since the preceding account was penned, the intelligence reaches us that the suit against South Carolina has been withdrawn by the British Consul, in pursuance of orders from his Government. The remarks of the *Charleston Courier*, taken in connection with some facts previously known, and the discussions in both Houses of Parliament in June of the present year, afford some clue to the policy of Great Britain in this particular. The *Courier* recommends such a modification of the law as shall dispense with the imprisonment of the colored seamen, and prohibit their going on shore after the ringing of the curfew or night-bell, or at any other time without a written permit either from the city authorities or one of the officers of the vessel. This harmonizes with the statement of

* *London Anti-slavery Reporter*. Vide *National Anti-slavery Standard* of April 21, 1853.

† *National Anti-slavery Standard*, Dec. 9, 1852.

‡ The story of "MANUEL PEREIRA, or the Sovereign Rule of South Carolina; with a View of Southern Life, Laws and Hospitality;" by F. C. ADAMS," has been written at Charleston, published by Buell & Blanchard, Washington; and republished in London.

§ Twenty-first Annual Report Massachusetts Anti-slavery Society, p. 36. Also, *National Era*, May 6, 1852.

Gov. Means, that some modification of the law was under consideration when the British Consul instituted the suit. That declaration of the Governor was alluded to in the recent discussion in Parliament, and the hope was expressed that, on a withdrawal of the suit, the object could be better obtained by negotiation. One embarrassment in the prosecution of the suit was stated to be that the treaty with America, on which reliance had been placed, was subsequent to the municipal regulations of South Carolina, and that the words of the treaty had only secured commercial intercourse "subject to the laws of the country," which, as Lord Clarendon observed, would include "the municipal laws of the States."

There seems, therefore, some reason to expect a relaxation of the existing laws. An indication of this, and of a corresponding change of sentiment, is found in the fact that the present law is denounced by the *Charleston Courier* as being "offensive to foreigners," "unwise and impolitic."

RELIGIOUS AND ECCLESIASTICAL

FROM the arena of civil and political activities, we turn to the religious and ecclesiastical. And here it will be seen that slavery has steadily increased within the pale of the Christian denominations during the last half century, as it has within the limits of our political organizations.

PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, (N. S.)

This Assembly met in the city of Washington, on the 19th of May, 1852. Rev. Albert Barnes delivered the opening discourse. Among the topics was the question of slavery, on which he pronounced his views clearly and independently. He expounded the *theory* of the Church on the subject, referring to the acts of 1818, 1839, and 1850, and said the Assembly would never recede from the ground taken. His examination of these grounds was a manly and noble one; probably more so than is often heard so far south, and which, coming from so distinguished a man, is calculated to exert a good influence. Subsequently, Judge Hascall offered a resolution strongly laudatory of the discourse, and asking a copy of it for publication. Its great ability was admitted on all hands: but the resolution was ingeniously opposed, on the ground that the sermon tended specially to disturb the "sweet feelings of harmony heretofore prevalent," as Dr. White of New-Jersey naïvely remarked.

Dr. Pollock (of Va.) opposed the resolution as calculated to pledge each member of the Assembly to all the topics and doctrines laid down in the discourse. It embraces an exciting and interesting subject of national interest, etc. It was also stated that the precedent would be a bad one;

and a motion of Mr. Eckard, of Washington City, to postpone the resolution indefinitely, was carried ! *

The Assembly closed its sessions June 7th. The following is its action on the subject of slavery :

Committee on Bills and Overtures reported memorials from Presbyteries and individuals on the subject of slavery, requesting action thereon. The Committee are of opinion that the General Assembly has already expressed itself with sufficient clearness upon this subject, and would suggest that the memorials which call for the citation of Synods be referred to the Judicial Committee.

The Judicial Committee subsequently reported that

“Two memorials have been laid before them, asking that the Synods of Missouri, Kentucky, Mississippi, Virginia, Tennessee, and West Tennessee, who are charged by common fame with holding sentiments and countenancing practices, on the subject of slavery, in opposition to the declarations of the General Assembly, be cited to appear before us at our next meeting, to answer these charges. The Committee report that there is no such common fame as calls for the interference of the Assembly, and recommend that the action proposed be not taken.”

The report was accepted, laid upon the table, and afterwards indefinitely postponed. While the Assembly was in session, it was stated that an elder in a Presbyterian church at Washington had, shortly before, publicly advertised for sale a colored woman, in such a way as to invite proposals from those who would buy for the basest purposes !

This Assembly met again at Buffalo, May 19th, 1853. Sermon by Rev. Dr. Adams, of New-York. The preliminary exercises by Rev. John C. Smith, of Washington City. The Standing Committee on *Bills and Overtures*, to whom are usually committed memorials, etc., on the subject of slavery, consisted this year of Rev. Dr. S. H. Cox, of New-York ; Dr. S. C. Aiken, of Ohio ; Dr. F. A. Ross, of Tennessee ; Rev. J. A. Carnahan, of Indiana ; and Elders Hon. N. H. Osborne, of New-York ; Hon. O. Magruder, of Virginia, and Mr. Samuel Merritt, of Indiana.

Dr. Cox, wishing to be rid of the troublesome subject, moved that the several memorials on the subject of slavery that had been received, be referred to a special and wise committee. The motion was opposed by Dr. Eddy, of New-Jersey, and Rev. Dr. Rowland, of Pennsylvania. Dr. Ross, of Tennessee, said :

“He did not desire discussion on this subject, but still he had no opposition to make if others wished to discuss it. As a citizen of the State of Tennessee, a State which partakes of the fire of the South and the prudence of the North, he was perfectly calm on the subject. He had entire faith that Providence would work out our deliverance from this great and terrible evil ; and he was

* A bookseller in New-York volunteered to publish the sermon, which had a large sale.

willing to wait the developments of that Providence. He was therefore calm, and ready to allow the subject to take its course." The reference was made.

On the question, "Where shall the Assembly sit next year?" St. Louis, Mo., was proposed. Rev. Mr. Jones, of Iowa, objected to going there, as it was in a slave State. He thought it quite inexpedient, at the present time, to increase the equivocal character of the Assembly on this subject. It was decided to hold the next Assembly in Philadelphia.

Dr. Hatfield, Stated Clerk, said he had received a communication from the Oswego (N. Y.) Presbytery, so peculiar that he was constrained to lay it before the Assembly. It was read, and was merely a transcript of the record, declining to send commissioners to the Assembly till it be disconnected from slavery. A long debate took place. Some were for severe measures: others thought the paper was not disrespectful. Rev. Mr. Shumway, of New-York, said:

"It may be made the occasion of action which may heal a very wide-spread evil. There are individuals and members that feel deeply tried by what they think the connection of the Assembly with slavery. Now, secession is a great Protestant right; but is the connection of the Assembly with slavery a just ground for such secession? To meet this important issue—an issue which the religious journals do not adequately discuss—would be a timely and judicious office, and do good beyond the sphere of this case."

Rev. Isaac W. K. Handy, of Delaware, said:

"He did not think the paper disrespectful. It was an expression of their views, properly made. Whether the opinions are wise or unwise, is another question; but the action of the Presbytery is not disrespectful. He was glad they had spoken out, if they entertain these views. If they cannot be reasoned out of them, they should leave the Church."

Dr. Aiken, of Ohio, (formerly, with Dr. Cox, a professed Abolitionist,) said:

"He wished to take a conciliatory course; but he did not think the spirit in which such actions have their origin, is the fruit of ignorance. It is not true that no reasoning or persuasion has been used with them. It is not ignorance: they are determined on division, and they will have it."

Rev. John F. Ingersoll, of New-York, hoped that no such importance would be given to it. He would prefer to refer it to the source from whence it came. It was a serious *charge* upon the Assembly, and ought to be *resented*.

Dr. Eddy moved that it be returned.

Mr. Homes could not agree to this. The paper from Oswego reminded him of a preacher who, by a misreading of a text, made it say, "We are fearfully and wonderfully *mad*!" He thought we ought to treat them kindly and forbearingly.

Rev. R. B. Beckwith, of New-York, thought the menacing character of the communication ought not to be overlooked, etc.

Dr. Cox said it was a grave matter. . . . "It is a precedent which ought to be prevented, for it is disorganizing and destructive in its character. It cuts the very vertebral column of our organic structure."

Dr. Ross "would deal with the Presbytery, but take no notice of the paper."

Rev. E. M. Rollo, of New-York, thought the paper required no notice at all.

Rev. Henry E. Niles, of New-York, "was for referring the paper to the Judiciary Committee, to bring the Presbytery properly before the Assembly, as a court of Jesus Christ, for violating their oaths. It is highly important that the relation of the Presbyteries to the Assembly should be better understood. Presbyteries ought to understand that the vows of the Constitution are not idle words."

Rev. S. G. Spees, of Illinois, if he consulted his natural feelings, should vote to lay the paper on the table. But the subject was one of great delicacy. There are many Presbyteries destined to become powerful bodies, whom we hold by an exceedingly tenuous tie.

Another topic of discussion was Dr. Judd's History of the Division of the Presbyterian Church. The last chapter professes to give the position of the Church on the subject of slavery; which was understood to be "offensive to the South, not on their own account so much as the objection excited among those who are out of the Church. They construe the Assembly into an Abolition body. The book, with that chapter, would prevent its circulation at the South." This was urged in the Assembly at Buffalo, on the report of a committee to which the book had been referred.

On the other hand, it was contended that to expurgate the book of that chapter, would make the book odious at the North, since it would be construed into a mere catering to Southern prejudices.

A third party took the ground that it ought to be left with the author of the book entirely to say what shall be put in and what left out.

The conclusion of the matter was the passing of a resolution which expresses pleasure that Dr. Judd has *attempted* to write an impartial and thorough history of the Division.*

And so the Assembly expressed no opinion of the chapter objected against.

From the New-York *Evangelist* of June 2, we gather the following additional particulars:

The Committee has reported in favor of the book, but suggested that in the new edition about to be issued there might be certain alterations.

* New-York Tribune.

Dr. Aikin moved the acceptance of the report.

Hon. W. J. Cornell, of Cayuga Presbytery, was opposed to its being altered.

"Rev. Robert McLain, of Missouri, could not vote for approving the book." Its statements on "the subject of slavery he did not believe, and could not approve."

Hon. O. Magruder, of Washington City, and Rev. E. T. Brantley, of West Tennessee, spoke on the same side.

Dr. Eddy stated that the author and publisher were willing to "alter the book, so as to answer its purposes in all parts of the Church; and *no doubt an edition, with the chapter on slavery omitted, HAD ALREADY BEEN ISSUED.*"

"Dr. Cox had a letter from Dr. Judd, *confirming this*, which he read."

"Rev. W. A. Niles, of Illinois, thought the circulation of the book was very desirable; and it would give it great authority, if it be authenticated by the General Assembly. He believed it was an honest history; but it will be *fatal to our Church at the West*, if we attempt to emasculate it of the truth on the subject of slavery. If an impression cannot be made by an honest recital of facts, that our branch of the Church is in advance of the Old School Church on the subject of slavery, *we are driven to the wall.*"

Mr. Magruder was a Compromise man. Like *most* Compromise men, he would have the great body he was connected with carry a double face. "LET THERE," he said, "BE TWO EDITIONS. He would agree to that; and thus both would be satisfied."

Dr. Aikin introduced the resolution adopted, as above stated, which was passed unanimously.

Thus "both" sides are to be "satisfied."* There are to be two HISTORIES of the New School Presbyterian Church, by the same author; the one to be successfully circulated at the *South*, and the *other* at the *North*. The one is to represent the Church as an anti-slavery Church; the other, by *omitting* the obnoxious chapter, is to convey a different impression. *Both* books are to help draw in and retain members to the same Presbyterian Church, united under the same General Assembly, which "expresses pleasure that Dr. Judd" has performed so desirable a service!

But the chief topic of agitation on the slavery question, in the

* We hope that those who feel interested in preventing mutilations and expurgations of books, to please the South, will read "Letters respecting the American Tract Society. By William Jay. New-York: Lewis J. Bates, publisher, 48 Beekman street."

Assembly at Buffalo, came up on a report from a Committee to whom had been referred several memorials on the subject.

The Committee consisted of Rev. Dr. Thompson, Rev. Messrs. John Monteith, Thomas Milligan, and Benjamin Mills; Elders Hon. Samuel Jefferson, William Carey, and James W. Bishop—two from New-York, one from Michigan, one from Indiana, one from Kentucky, one from Ohio, and one from Delaware.

Twelve memorials were presented. Eleven were from the North, asking for further action, and also for more particular information respecting the extent and character of slavery in the Southern part of the Church; and "one was from the South, complaining of the injustice of Northern brethren, in charging them with practices of which they are not guilty, and attributing to them motives which they abhor; and protesting against the continued agitation of the subject, as tending more to rivet than unloose the chains of the slave, and seriously to embarrass the memorialists in their gospel work."

The report of the Committee, which was unanimous, is as follows:

"The Committee, after much patient and prayerful consideration of the whole subject, in all its complicated and perplexing relations, are agreed in recommending to the Assembly the following action:

"1. That this body shall reaffirm the doctrine of the second resolution adopted by the General Assembly, convened in Detroit in 1850;

"2. And that, with an express disavowal of any intention to be impertinently inquisitorial, and for the sole purpose of arriving at the truth, so as to correct misapprehension, and allay all causeless irritation, a committee be appointed of one from each of the Synods of Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri, and Virginia, who shall be requested to report to the next General Assembly on the following points:

"1. The number of slaveholders in connection with the churches, and the number of slaves held by them.

"2. The extent to which slaves are held, from an unavoidable necessity imposed by the laws of the States, the obligations of guardianship, and the demands of humanity.

"3. Whether the Southern churches regard the sacredness of the marriage relation as it exists among the slaves: whether baptism is duly administered to the children of the slaves professing Christianity; and, in general, to what extent, and in what manner, provision is made for the religious well-being of the enslaved.

"Your Committee recommend,

"4. That this Assembly do earnestly exhort and beseech all those in our Church who are happily relieved from any personal connection with the institution of slavery, to exercise due patience and forbearance towards their brethren less fortunate than themselves, remembering the embarrassments of their peculiar position, and to cherish for them that fraternal confidence and love to which, as Christian brethren, they are entitled, and which they the more need in consequence of the peculiar trials by which they are surrounded."

Every member of the Committee, it will be observed, was from a slave State.

The resolution referred to, as having been adopted in Detroit in 1850, is as follows:

"That the holding of our fellow-men in the condition of slavery, *except* in those cases where it is unavoidable by the laws of the State, by the obligations of guardianship, or the demands of humanity, is an offense, in the proper import of that term, as used in the Book of Discipline, chap. i., sec. 3, which should be treated in the same manner as other offenses."

Abolitionists generally insisted, at the time, that the *exceptions*, as they would commonly be expounded at the South, were sufficiently wide to cover the ground of all slaveholding. Yet leading Northern men in the Assembly, claiming to be Anti-slavery men, professed to believe that by this resolution the Assembly had taken an advance step, and had placed the Anti-slavery cause, in that body, on higher ground. But the New-York *Observer*, the Philadelphia *Christian Observer*, &c., steady opposers of anti-slavery agitation, approved the resolution; and Mr. Stiles, who vindicated slavery, voted for its adoption.

Of this *report*, at Buffalo, it is obvious to remark, further:

1. The implication, that any inquiry into the facts of the case, with a view to ecclesiastical action, would be "impertinently inquisitorial;"—a position contrasting strongly with the tone of the principal speakers in the Assembly against the Presbytery of Oswego. The authority of the Assembly, "as a court of Christ," was then regarded as being abundantly ample to cite offenders before them; and no one disputed it. But in the case of slaveholders, instead of Abolitionists, the functions of the Assembly are very different. For it will be seen that,

2. The *object* of the inquiries is plainly stated. Nothing is hinted of collecting information, preparatory to ecclesiastical action. It is to enable the South to "correct misapprehensions, and allay all causeless irritations;" that is, to show that the atrocities alleged to be committed on the slaves are greatly exaggerated, and that Christian Presbyterians do nothing more than use "moderate correction."

3. The earnest exhortations of the Assembly are to be addressed, not to slaveholders, (who, until the year 1818, stood recorded on the Presbyterian Confession of Faith as "men-stealers,") but to Abolitionists, who, it is intimated, are in danger of not exercising sufficient "patience and forbearance" towards their "brethren"—after twenty years of *attempted* exhortation with them on the subject; which attempts have hitherto been baffled, by the neglect or refusal of the General Assembly to convey any such exhortation to them.

4. The tone of apology and implied justification of slaveholders, instead of any admonition or exhortation addressed to them! "The *embarrassments* of their peculiar position," not the sinfulness and guilt of it, are brought into notice. Their "*trials*" are spoken of, as though *they* were the aggrieved, and not the *offending* party—the *wronged*, instead of the *wrong-doers*. And, as if this were not sufficient, it is boldly claimed

for them that they are "the more *entitled to fraternal confidence and love*, as CHRISTIAN BRETHREN, in consequence of" their standing in this "peculiar position!"

5. No sympathies are invoked for the "trials" of the poor SLAVES deprived (by Southern Presbyterian testimony*) of the sanctities of the family relation, of the light of the Bible, of protection from "brutal stripes and outrage," and from violent disruption "from all that their hearts hold dear." They may be Christians. They may be Presbyterians, as some of them are, and suffering from the hands of Presbyterian brethren.† But the report recommends no expression of Presbyterian sympathy *for them*, nor even hints that they are "entitled" to any!

The discussion on the report was quite heated. Dr. Ross (of Tenn.) warmly opposed it, emphatically asserting that "the South never submitted to a scrutiny." He offered the following substitute:

"That, with an express disavowal not to be inquisitorial, &c., a committee of one from each of the Northern Synods of ——— be appointed, who shall be requested to report to the next General Assembly—

"1. The number of Northern church members who traffic with slaveholders, and are seeking to make money by selling them negro clothing, handcuffs, and cowhides.

"2. How many Northern church members are concerned, directly or indirectly, in building and fitting out ships for the African slave-trade, and the slave-trade between the States.

"3. How many Northern church members have sent orders to New-Orleans and other Southern cities, to have slaves sold, to pay debts coming to them from the South. [See *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.]

"4. How many Northern church members buy the cotton, sugar, rice, tobacco, oranges, pine-apples, figs, ginger, cocoa, melons, and a thousand other things, raised by slave labor.

"5. How many Northern church members have intermarried with slaveholders, and have thus become slave-owners themselves, or enjoy the wealth made by the blood of the slaves—especially if there be any Northern ministers of the gospel in such a predicament.

"6. How many Northern church members are the descendants of the men who kidnapped negroes in Africa, and brought them to Virginia and New-England, in former years.

"7. What is the aggregate and individual wealth of church members thus descended, and what action is best to compel them to disgorge this blood-stained wealth, or to make them give dollar for dollar, in equalizing the loss of the South by emancipation.

"8. How many Northern church members, ministers especially, have advocated *murder* in resistance to the laws of the land.

"9. How many Northern church members own stock in underground railroads, running off fugitive slaves, and Sabbath-breaking railroads and canals.

"10. That a special committee be sent up Red river, to ascertain whether Legee, who whipped Uncle Tom to death, (and a Northern *gentleman*,) be not still in connection with some Northern church, in good and regular standing.

"11. How many Northern church members attend meetings of Spiritual Rappers, are Bloomers, or Woman's Rights Conventionists.

* Presbyterian Synods of South Carolina and Georgia.

† See Address of Presbyterian Synod of Kentucky, which affirms that Presbyterians separate families, by sales to the cattle-gangs!

"12. How many are cruel husbands.

"13. How many are henpecked husbands."*

Dr. Ross spoke at length on the subject. He had heard of two members of the Assembly, at least, who were from the North, and had by marriage become owners of slaves at the South. He predicted that slavery would in due time be abolished; 1. By the removal of the colored race; and 2. By the substitution of Chinese laborers. "Let the North give up the notion that the relation of a master is sinful *per se*, and let the South abandon the idea that slavery is to be perpetual, and of Divine approval, and you can work together." He said also, "a curse rested upon the children of Ham."†

He was followed by Hon. William Strong, (of Pennsylvania,) who had no objection to reiterating the action of Detroit, *though doubtful of its utility*. He protested against inquisitorial action. It is offensive to our Southern brethren. Let a report be made of inhuman treatment of slaves by members of our churches, and of sinful things, such as I presume do exist; what then? You cannot put those members on trial before you. In this he differed, it will be perceived, from the venerable Mr. Monteith, who addressed the Assembly at a subsequent period.

Dr. Eddy (of New-Jersey)—unwilling to have Southern men ask the Assembly to lay aside the report—proposed a substitute, dismissing the whole subject:

"Whereas the General Assembly has taken frequent action, which most fully and clearly defines the position of the Presbyterian Church in relation to slavery;

"And whereas this subject has been committed and commended by the General Assembly to such notice and action of the respective Presbyteries within whose bounds slavery exists, as they, in their wisdom, judgment, and fidelity, shall believe it demands;

"And whereas no complaint has been made of the neglect, on the part of any pastors, sessions, or Presbyteries, of their duties in the premises;

"And whereas there is nothing in the providence of God demanding any new, different, or further action on the subject; therefore,

"Resolved, That all further consideration of the subject of slavery be dismissed."

Dr. Eddy said he was tired of this discussion, and longed for repose.

* Some of the N. S. Presbyterian newspapers omit this substitute in their narration of the proceedings of the Assembly. Are they ashamed of such allies? We think there is a good deal of sense in the resolutions of Dr. Ross. Not a few of the church members in the Presbyterian Church and other Churches, are implicated in the pro-slaveryism charged upon them by Dr. Ross.

† Dr. Cox afterwards went into a learned exegesis on this subject, and satisfactorily proved, what every biblical scholar ought to have known, that there is no evidence whatever that any curse was pronounced on Ham.

Dr. Ross, subsequent to the adjournment of the Assembly, visited Brooklyn and Dr. Cox; and at a meeting of the Presbytery there, apologized for slavery. These doctors fraternized, we are told, very lovingly.

He believed the great Head of the Church asked for repose on this subject.

Elder Hubbard (of Ohio) objected to discussion. It is perfect nonsense to discuss the subject, if we can do nothing with it. This agitation had gone too far already. If ministers will preach on the subject, he proposed to send them to the proper field, for he knew of no body who favored slavery here. Men, he said, are very brave in talking of it here; but he would warrant that if these preachers went South, where slavery is, they would be as wise as serpents and harmless as doves.

Rev. Moses Thacher (of New-York) proposed to strike out the first four resolutions of the report—proposing the inquisition—and substitute the following:

“2. *Resolved*, That the Presbyterian Church is not in fellowship with sin or sinners—with either oppression or oppressors.

“That when the perpetration of crime comes before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, by way of appeal, protest, and complaint from a lower judicatory, or by way of review and control, the Assembly is constitutionally bound to adjudicate in the premises. But,

“4. We have neither scriptural nor constitutional authority to enact *ex post facto* laws, or to legislate members out of the Church.”

Rev. Ellis J. Newlin (of Virginia) moved the indefinite postponement of the whole subject. He highly appreciated the feeling exhibited by the speaker from the North. He should be sorry to have the harmony of the Assembly destroyed.

Mr. Monteith (of Michigan,) said:

“The Committee had prayerfully considered the subject. They were unanimous in believing that it would not be safe to do nothing; and this was the only thing in which they could unite. The report is inquisitorial only in the sense of that oversight which belongs to the office of this Assembly. The proposal to institute these inquiries came from a Southern member. The measure is *not designed to lead to any ecclesiastical issue*. We believe that the South has been greatly misrepresented, and that there are not so many slaves belonging to members of our Church as is supposed; and that the few which are held, are held for good reasons. We wish to give the South the opportunity to prove this, for her own reputation and comfort.”

After making these deprecatory remarks, Mr. M. proceeded to argue that the Assembly had as direct and immediate power to punish any sin or wrong practice in the Church as any inferior judicatory, and that the power to examine into the conduct of brethren lies at the basis of all Church fellowship. He said slavery, though called a delicate thing, is no more delicate than any other great sin. Our true *policy* also lies in going straight forward. Let us not seek to obtain strength by allying ourselves to evil, however gigantic in form, or imposing in pretension.

While he was speaking, Rev. John C. Smith, of Washington City, jocosely requested the Moderator to appoint a committee to wake up

those members who were asleep; a remark that was not considered in good taste, and which, instead of exciting the merriment, was frowned upon by the Assembly. As some apology, however, for Mr. Smith, it must be confessed there was some incongruity in the remarks of the speaker. Did he intend to intimate that the Holy Ghost had appointed the Assembly overseers, merely to institute *inquiry* into alleged criminal conduct, without its leading, in case the criminality was proved, to *ecclesiastical censure*? His language implies as much.

Rev. C. F. Mills (of Kentucky, and also of the Committee) said :

"The report had been prepared only by great difficulty, and by a spirit of conciliation and compromise. He was against discipline. He was also against declaring the relation of master and slave in itself sinful. He was surprised at the opposition the report had met. We have been told that the South is not going to submit to it. *He did not believe it.* He *knew* there was not a Presbytery of Kentucky that will not willingly respond to these inquiries. He knew the South hated slavery, and were anxious that the true state of the case should be known. There are extenuating circumstances in connection with slavery, which he was exceedingly desirous to have the North understand. Then, there was another side to the question. He was willing that the conduct of the South might be compared with that of the North; the legal decisions of Kentucky and Louisiana to be compared with the black laws of Illinois and Indiana. Progress was making at the South, and it would go on. He disliked the spirit in which the report had been received. Something was due to the North; and he had no respect for the blustering, bravado insolence, which folds its arms in self-righteous dignity, and resists all approach, and all attempts to conciliate. To a Southern man, it was the next worse thing to the servility of the North, that respects and yields to it. Indeed, he had heard so much pro-slavery, conservative boasting, since he had been here, from Northern men, that he was ashamed of his cause."

Dr. Thompson (of New-York, Chairman of the Committee,) said :

"He yielded to no one in a hearty detestation of slavery. He could sympathize with his brother Eddy for repose, but most of us believe there is no repose so long as slavery exists. He was reminded of a fellow-passenger on ship-board with him, crossing the Atlantic, who was terribly sea-sick, who exclaimed, 'Would to God I were on land, or that this sea would stand still!' Is it wrong to appoint an unobtrusive and inoffensive committee to investigate matters? He believed the South would be the greater gainer by the process of the two. Perhaps, if the South refuses to act candidly and frankly on the subject, the North will fly off; and if the North act honestly and righteously, the South will fly off. Perhaps the evil cannot be staved off either way. But one thing he knew; it is always safe to do right."

Rev. Robert McLain (of Mississippi) said :

"He had but little expectation of any result that would secure the harmony of the whole Church. He felt certain that if this commission be formed, and it be undertaken to take a census of their slave population, to enter the families of Southern church members and inquire into our practices, the South would be compelled to withdraw from the Church. He could tell the Assembly, the South would never submit to such an inquisition as this. We are assured that there is to be no peace till slavery is rooted out of the Church. When this is secured, we shall have no members."

The New-York *Tribune* thus reports the speech of this gentleman :

"Rev. Mr. McLain, of Mississippi, marched up to the mark and 'faced the music' without winking. Such a committee as this, he said, which the report contemplates, we will not receive. But if you ask how many of our church members are slaveholders, I answer, all who are able to be. If you ask how many slaves they own, I answer, just as many as their means will permit."

"A friend of ours," says the author of 'Slavery and the Church,'* "who was on the spot and heard for himself, gives the language in still stronger terms : Mr. McLain . . . with Southern frankness said : 'We disavow the action of the Detroit Assembly. *We have men in our Church who buy slaves, and work them, BECAUSE THEY CAN MAKE MORE MONEY BY IT THAN IN ANY OTHER WAY. And the more of such men we have, the better.* All who can, own slaves ; and those who cannot, want to.'"

Dr. Cox (of New-York) delivered "a most entertaining and eloquent speech," full of brilliant passages and witty sayings, but which was not regarded as bearing very directly on the question before the Assembly.† He would be glad to throw oil upon the troubled waters ; but he must throw light. He was sorry he could not agree with brother Monteith. As to progress, ever since the Revolution there had been constant progress towards ultimate emancipation. What State has been retrograded into slavery‡ Or what State has been dragooned into freedom ? Ecclesiastical action to secure and enforce civil reforms is unwise, and has no precedent in the Scriptures. Cesar and Christ have different governments§ He corrected the mistake of Dr. Ross in saying, that a curse rested upon the children of Ham. Some of the memorials denied that slavery is sin *per se*. This was not nonsense and absurdity."

At this stage, Dr. Eddy obtained leave to introduce a report of the Church Polity Committee's reply to a memorial, asking such an alteration of the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church as shall make slaveholding a matter of discipline, as offenses expressly specified by the Book of Discipline. In answer to this, the Committee recommend that the Book of Discipline contains already ample powers to deal with every known case of sin when officially brought to its cognizance.

This not being unanimously accepted, the question of indefinite postponement of the slavery report was renewed.

At this point, Rev. Chauncy Eddy (of Ohio) suddenly and unexpectedly moved the previous question on the indefinite postponement. The effect of this is to stop debate, and it came like a peal of thunder from

* By Rev. William Hosmer, Auburn, N. Y., pp 193.

† *Tribune*.

‡ Illinois, good Doctor.

§ Dr. Cox overlooked the fact, that the resolutions of inquiry related merely to church members.

a clear sky on the Western members, who as yet had not been able to speak. The Moderator put the question: "Shall the main question now be put?" This was carried in the affirmative. The main question on the indefinite postponement of the whole subject was then put, and also carried in the affirmative. This sudden termination of the discussion seemed to petrify a large portion of the Assembly, nor did this astonishment find vent until the question on *Doctor Eddy's* report came up, when he having proposed to withdraw it, Rev. Mr. Niles (of Illinois) objected to its withdrawal. It stated what had just been found to be false—the Assembly had no power to reach the sin of slavery; and they must so report it to their Presbyteries, let the result be what it would.

Rev. Mr. Spees (of Illinois) also opposed the withdrawal, and said, in most emphatic manner, the Assembly had never committed so suicidal an act, and one which would drive a ploughshare through the Church. He could assure the Assembly that church after church, on our list now, will not be found there another year. The Assembly must show progress on this subject, or there is no holding the churches together. Presbyteries, and even whole Synods, will wheel off, if this course be persisted in. It was a ruinous, fatal policy, and too soon the Assembly would be aware of it.

Rev. Mr. Shumway (of New-York) also deplored this action. It was a fatal step. There were Presbyteries all around him, who are only kept with the Assembly by the hope that some action will be taken on this subject. The Oswego Presbytery was a type of many others. They are honest, conscientious brethren, and they will *act*, we may be sure of it. If we wish to drive the ploughshare of division through the Church, we have only to bring down the guillotine of the previous question, and shut off debate, and it will be done.

Rev. T. M. Hopkins (of Ohio) concurred in all this. Not one word had been permitted from the Western Reserve—a region where there was the utmost sensitiveness on this subject. He knew that there were Presbyteries, and more than one, which were represented here *for the last time*, if this was to be the law.

The indignant tone of these speeches, and others, evidently produced a marked effect. It became so apparent that a wrong had been done to free discussion, that Rev. Mr. Poor (of New-Jersey) moved a reconsideration, which, after explanations from Dr. Cox and others, was almost unanimously carried. A large meeting of the friends of the report held a caucus at the close of the session.

On the order of the day coming up, at the next sitting, Dr. Thompson asked leave to withdraw the report made on Thursday last, and debated

on Friday, in order to make a substitute. The part of the report differing from the original draft, is as follows :

"3. To correct misapprehensions which may exist in many Northern minds, and allay causeless irritation by having the real facts in relation to this subject spread before the whole Church, it is recommended earnestly to request the Presbyteries in each of the slaveholding States to take such measures as may seem to them most expedient and proper for laying before the next Assembly, in its session at Philadelphia, distinct and full statements touching the following points :

"1. The number of slaveholders in connection with the churches under their jurisdiction, and the number of slaves held by them.

"2. The extent to which slaves are held by an unavoidable necessity, 'imposed by the laws of the States, the obligations of guardianship, and the demands of humanity.'

"3. Whether a practical regard, such as the Word of God requires, is evinced by the Southern churches for the sacredness of the conjugal and parental relations as they exist among slaves; whether baptism is duly administered to the children of slaves professing Christianity; whether slaves are admitted to equal privileges and powers in the Church courts; and in general to what extent and in what manner provision is made for the religious well-being of the enslaved."

Dr. Ross regarded it as unconstitutional. Charges should be made, if at all, in a legal, formal manner.

Dr. Thompson replied : Common fame says that there is error at the South, and immorality in Presbyterian churches too. Though he believed that our Southern brethren are much misrepresented, yet he believed that practices were winked at which, at the North, we think ought to be dealt with. All that is proposed is, that the Presbyteries be requested to report to the Assembly the facts in the case. He knew not how a milder or more gentle measure could be adopted.

Elder W. R. Moore (of Ohio) approved the report. The whole purpose of the North in soliciting this information, was to allay agitation, by bringing out the truth. But if it should appear that the evils specified are general, he should be prepared to act further.

Rev. T. M. Hopkins (of Ohio) said the Assembly was bound to inquire into all that concerns the reputation of the Church. He thought the report ought to meet universal approval. Slavery, as a civil institution, may be sectional; but it cannot be so regarded by us.

Rev. Thomas S. Milligan (of Indiana) thought the report the *least* that would satisfy the North. He liked the first report better than the substitute, yet even that did not reflect his own conceptions of duty on the subject. For making the proposed inquiry, we have an authority higher than the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church, for the Most High is represented to have heard of reports respecting the moral conduct of a certain city, and said that he would go down and inquire. No doubt there were men in Sodom who were opposed to making any inquiries; but their opposition did not prove that the inquiries were wrong or impertinent. Undoubtedly there is fanaticism at the North: but ah!

there is something more. There is a deep Christian feeling, underlying all the froth of fanaticism, which it would be better for the South not to encounter. He had no sympathy with some Northern men who say, If you do not do so and so, we'll leave you; that is not the true position. The true position is, that this evil is to be removed, for God has unquestionably undertaken the work. Slavery is doomed; it bears the mark of Cain; and though he would not lie down upon the purposes of God, and do nothing, he would derive from them encouragement to labor, and perseverance and patience. Nothing would be more creditable to the South than for them to come to an harmonious union with the North on this mild middle position, and frankly respond to these fraternal inquiries. He had no fear as to the final result of this anti-slavery movement. It is no foam upon the surface, but a current, deep and strong as that of Niagara. It is of God, and will go on. We must do our duty, and leave results with Him.

Dr. Aiken (of Ohio) was prepared to vote for the original report. He did not doubt that the Assembly had the constitutional right to make such inquiries. If not, we had better disband. He did not think the report would quiet the North. There was an unreasonable and unreasoning state of feeling existing in the churches, which nothing will satisfy. Speaking for the Western Reserve, he could say, this action is too late in the day, by three years. The churches you could hope to save by such action have gone already, hook and line, and they will remain where they are.

"Slavery is not to be removed by any action; not by colonization—though he was in favor of that—nor by legislation either in Congress or General Assembly. It will not stir from its base this mass of pollution by any such means. Nor will it be done by the underground railroad, though he was in favor of it. *He rejoiced in every slave that escaped.* Underground railroads will be far more effective. The wonderful improvements of the age will do the business. Railroads will bring the North and South together. They will diffuse and equalize the public sentiment. The people will mingle together, become acquainted, and become interested in each other. Knowledge, kindness and interest will be increased; and the evil, the unprofitableness, and the burden of slavery will become so apparent, that the South itself will cry out for relief. With these are other causes combining, which would ultimately accomplish the desired object."

Rev. E. T. Brantley (of West Tennessee) said:

"He cordially disapproved of slavery. He found no justification of it any where. All look forward to the extinction of slavery. The North is acting powerfully upon the South by means of its intelligence, its right views, its physical progress, and its splendid exemplifications of the superiority of freedom. If the North could be aware of the progress of anti-slavery sentiment at the South, particularly among Christians, they would think the day of emancipation had already dawned. The churches at the South would be aggrieved with such inquiries as these. There are cases of slaveholding in our churches which do not come within the exceptions named at Detroit. He is a slaveholder, but is trying to prepare his slaves for freedom. The action of the Church may tend to a dissolution of the Union."

Rev. William Homes* (of Missouri) said :

"He dissented from the report and from any thing that *resembled* it. This report requires a man to answer questions that would criminate him. These Abolitionists cannot be conciliated. On such a subject as slavery, where there is a difference as wide as heaven and earth, it is utterly vain to hope for agreement. If all those who talk of separation, and who regard slavery as the only sin, were to leave us, they would only leave us stronger. We have in the slaveholding States 260 churches, 200 ministers, and between 15,000 and 16,000 church members. He did not think they would leave the Church, whatever might be done. The edicts and resolves of this body will only raise a cloud and a dust. The action of the Assembly of Detroit is null and void; for *how can any man be found, not to be included in one or the other of the exceptions contained in it?* All claim that their slaveholding is involuntary and justifiable. He concluded by strenuously asserting that the South would not submit to these inquiries.

Dr. Eddy introduced a substitute, which, reciting the past action of the Assembly, declared that no further action was necessary, inasmuch as no formal complaints against any individual or ecclesiastical body had been made. When he sat down, a dozen members started to their feet.

Rev. G. R. H. Shumway (of New-York) said :

The whole course of this debate had been more painful than he could express, especially the disposition manifested to suppress this noble, God-originated, beneficent reform, that looked to the ultimate extinction of slavery in this country. Are we, after all that has been done and suffered, to yield every principle of political and Christian morality, merely to satisfy this longing after rest? We cannot expect rest till the evil that causes the unrest shall be done away with. We do not wait, in reference to other evils, till the State is right before we move in the Church. We agitate against the laws which authorize the sale of intoxicating drinks; we may denounce the oppressions of European despots for opinion's sake; but on this subject we are told we must preserve eternal silence. *It was time to ascertain whether this was to be the condition of remaining in the Presbyterian Church.* He was not an agitator—the God above us and the Book of God are the agitators. So long as its principles exist and find their way through the community, there will be no rest on the subject of slavery.

Elder Bishop, of New-York, was in favor of the report, and he should be pained if something in advance be not done.

Rev. S. G. Spees, of Illinois, said :

He was in favor of something which would satisfy the great mass of the churches. We must satisfy, if not fanatics, honest, intelligent, well-meaning Anti-slavery men at the North. This is an age of compromise. He was a compromise man, and this is a compromise measure. Brother Eddy and others make the welkin ring with their cries for repose. Repose there never can be, till the last shackle drops from the last slave. "I came not to send peace, but a sword." The Scriptures were given to be the great cause of agitation, till error and sin should be driven from off the earth. The doctrine of repose is the doctrine of the Devil. *There must be discussion.* Repose is the cry of those old tyrants of Europe who are crushing the liberties of the world under their heels. There is a popular sentiment abroad on this subject, which it will be of no avail for us to attempt to arrest or resist. Banish it, and it will come back again; crush it, and it will

* This Mr. Homes is an agent of the American Home Missionary Society.

rise again. It is the spirit of liberty, which cannot be quenched nor resisted. It is of no use for us to proclaim ourselves so awfully conservative that we cannot hear of this subject. We *must* advance. We shall render ourselves objects of contempt and scorn if we stand still—and we ought to be so. As to the numerical argument, he confessed he could never learn it. The question is not, whether we shall lose or gain in North or South; the question is, what is right and what is true. But if it comes to the question of numbers, he believed that if you refuse to entertain the subject and act upon it, in the spirit of Christian freemen, the churches in the North and North-west will march off in platoons. He could not justify it, but it would be done. He knew the state of public opinion at the West. The measures proposed will certainly do good at the West, and he could not think they would do harm any where. One word as to the Black Laws of Illinois: We hate those laws, and they make us hate slavery more and more. For we owe them to the existence of slavery in Kentucky and Missouri. If the States around us were free, we would need no Black Laws.

Dr. Ross said *he* was not seeking to allay agitation. He was in favor of it. If any one would give him a handsome copy of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," he would keep it on his centre-table, and show it to all his visitors.

Dr. Thompson was amazed at the opposition manifested. He could not understand it, except that there was a foregone determination to resist and oppose every thing that can possibly be proposed to be done on this subject. The subject of slavery will not rest at our bidding. It reminded him of the stick which was so crooked that it could not lie still.

The Moderator, Rev. Dr. D. H. Allen, of Ohio, said :

He thought it to be the duty of the Presbyterian Church to proclaim itself, by its acts, in earnest in the purpose of freeing itself from slavery. He had been astounded at the opposition manifested to the report. He knew Kentucky would endorse it. He believed that Tennessee will not resist it. It was painful to him to hear it said, when simple, honest inquiries are made in a spirit of love, we shall receive no replies. Why, what will the world say? His own opinion was, that the response which these inquiries would elicit would produce a conviction that at present there is nothing to be done. He had little hope of success by ecclesiastical discipline. We must use moral power.

Rev. William Torrey, of Virginia, said :

He was perfectly willing to have the facts relative to slavery spread out before the Assembly. He wished distinctly to disavow, on the part of the South, any disinclination to meet and answer these inquiries. It is said that this action will satisfy the North, but will it *stay* satisfied. The object of these inquiries is an entering wedge, to be driven up as fast as opportunity is given. He could not promise that the Virginia Presbyteries would give any replies to these inquiries. *There was no hope, so long as slavery exists, that the Church shall be free from it.* If it has come to be true that the feeling of the North will not suffer the slaveholding ministers and members to remain in fellowship with the Church, the South will not remain with you. *They do not contemplate a disconnection with slavery.* It is not slavery that troubles us, but this ceaseless agitation. Pass this report, and we must bid you farewell. But if we are got rid of, rest will not come. The next movement of the agitators will be to attack the pro-slavery men (as they call them) at the North, and drive them from the Church.

Dr. Hatfield (of New-York city) said :

The East had not lost its conscience on this subject, nor were they all buried in the abyss of compromise. The very efforts of the friends of slavery have hitherto only resulted in the progress of Anti-slavery sentiment. The East

thought that we had but to look on and see God work. It will not be long before it will be unsafe for a man to own himself indifferent on this subject. The report would do good at the North and the South. If the South decline to answer these inquiries, the world will say there is something in the system and practice of the South that will not bear the light. He did not believe that the Southern brethren themselves really deprecated the measure. *They of course will wish to oppose it, or seem to oppose it; but if it pass, they will undoubtedly congratulate themselves that the Assembly have done no more.*

Rev. Charles Brown (of Philadelphia) deprecated further action on the subject of slavery. Such was the opinion of the majority of his Presbytery, (the Fourth.)

Rev. S. P. M. Hastings (of New-York) wished to postpone action on this subject till the other business before the Assembly be accomplished.

Elder Strong heartily concurred. He was sick and tired of the discussion.

Rev. Jacob Little (of Ohio) felt anxious to advocate the report.

Rev. Gideon S. White (of East Tennessee) begged the Assembly to believe they were doing all they could to remove slavery.

Rev. Hiram Gregg (of New-York) made an impressive speech in behalf of the report.

Dr. Gilbert (of Philadelphia) had heard at least one thousand speeches, on this subject in the Assembly. He believed no good would come out of the discussion.

Rev. H. H. Rowland (of Pennsylvania) wished to move a substitute, to the effect that, having repeatedly taken action on the subject, the Assembly is free from all responsibility in reference to slavery, and declaring that the Assembly has full confidence in the Presbyteries and Synods in which slavery exists. The motion was lost by a large majority. The interest here became intense. Motions for a division of the report and for postponement to introduce substitutes were confusedly intermingled with remarks on the merits of the question—which, says the New-York *Evangelist*, being made in excitement, it would be unfair to record—till, at eleven o'clock at night, the vote to adopt the report was passed—ayes, 79; nays, 34; absent, 89—the greater part of whom were ruling elders from the West. Many of them were business men, who, supposing the matter had been virtually disposed of, had left the Assembly to attend to their private affairs. Eight of the absentees were afterwards allowed to record, seven of whom voted yea, making the final vote 84 ayes to 35 nays.

The next day, Rev. Mr. Rowland and Dr. Cox each presented a protest signed by several members.

Dr. Eddy proposed to raise a committee of equal numbers from the majority and the protesters, to consult whether some common ground

may not be found which shall harmonize the Assembly. A long and warm discussion ensued, after which Dr. Eddy had leave to withdraw his resolution.

Dr. Thompson proposed that a special committee should be raised to prepare a brief statement of general principles in regard to which there is little or no diversity of opinion on the subject of slavery in the Assembly. The motion leading to a discussion, the mover had leave to withdraw it.

We predict that no result of any importance will follow from the adoption of the report. In the language of Rev. Mr. Homes, of Missouri, it will "only raise a cloud and a dust." The Northern members generally advocated the report in the hope of satisfying public sentiment, and Southern members opposed it, as Dr. Hatfield intimated, for a similar reason.

PRESBYTERIAN GENERAL ASSEMBLY, [OLD SCHOOL.]

Most of those we address are aware that the Presbyterians of the country are divided into two parties, both claiming to be *the* Presbyterian Church of the United States. The division arose chiefly from disagreement in doctrinal views. Each has a General Assembly, composed of members from the free and slave States. The New School Assembly calls itself an "Anti-slavery Church;" the Old School Assembly makes no such pretension. Neither are such, in fact, because slaveholders are admitted to membership, and slaveholding is not considered a bar to Christian communion. The New School Assembly is considered more reformatory than the Old School Assembly, but both are under the influence of the slave power, that controls both the Church and State. In the Old School Assembly there are fifty slaveholding Presbyteries, about one third of the whole number.

The General Assembly (O. S.) met at Charleston, S. C., May, 1852. Rev. J. C. Lord, of Buffalo, N. Y., was chosen Moderator. He had distinguished himself by a sermon in aid of the Fugitive Slave Act, which had been widely circulated by the "Union Safety Committee" of New-York.

The Charleston *Mercury* announced his election as follows :

"To the distinction of a learned and zealous divine, Dr. Lord has also added that of a bold and able advocate of the constitutional rights of the South. We have wrestled strongly with the accursed errors of Abolition fanaticism. It is, moreover, no little praise to this Assembly to say that it knew how to appreciate and honor such a man."

During the session, one member spoke of "the fanatics of the North," and another said he would "as soon think of reporting to a tornado as to the fanatics;" but nothing was said or done about evangelizing the

HEATHEN in South Carolina, or alleviating or ending the miseries of the poor slaves in that part of the country.*

This Assembly met again at Philadelphia, May 17, 1853. It had been announced that the annual sermon should be preached this year by Rev. William T. Hamilton, D. D., of Mobile, but it does not appear that he officiated.†

Nothing appears to have been said or done in this Assembly on the subject of American slavery, but we find that special attention was paid to the report of a committee appointed the previous year, "to take into consideration some means for securing the rights of conscience, in religious matters, to American citizens in foreign countries." One of the resolutions, accompanying the report, is the following:—

Resolved, That freedom of thought, freedom of conscience, and freedom of religious worship, being essential and inherent rights of American citizens, and being extended by the American people to citizens of all nations, without restraint, it is but just and equal that this privilege should be extended to our citizens by all nations between whom and our country treaties of amity and commerce exist.

The report and resolutions, after slight opposition from Chancellor Johns and Mr. Montgomery, who were opposed to any thing "like a coupling together of the Church and State," were adopted. No American citizen, we think, can have any reasonable objection to the resolution quoted, and it is referred to here to show how quick certain men are to feel and remonstrate against injuries done themselves or those fellow-citizens whose rights are recognized by them, and yet how averse they are to sympathize with other fellow-citizens whose rights they consent shall be trampled in the dust. Provision should be made, say Doctors Baird, Spring, Plumer, Murray, Junkin, and Judges Grier and Leavitt, and their associates in the Assembly, for securing to American citizens, travelling or residing in foreign countries, the right to profess their faith and worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences; and yet how contented these citizens are that a multitude of their fellow-countrymen at home should have no "freedom of thought," no "freedom of conscience," no "freedom of religious worship," though they admit that these things are "essential and inherent rights of American citizens!" Foreign Governments may notice this inconsistency. Their subjects undoubtedly will, and remind these sticklers for the rights of man that they who claim justice should observe it.

* In an official report of the Presbyterian Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, published in the *Charleston Observer* some years since, it was stated: "Who would credit that in these years of revival and benevolent effort in this Christian republic, there are over *two millions of human beings* in the condition of HEATHEN, and, in some respects, *in a worse condition?*"

† Dr. H. is a native of England, and the person who said to Arthur Tappan, some years since, "I would as soon buy a negro as a leg of mutton."

Though the records of the year past, in their connection with those of the preceding years, and the general aspect of affairs at the present moment, do not warrant the hope that either of the General Assemblies, or the voluntary religious Associations supported and approved by them, will make any important anti-slavery progress until the cause of human liberty in America becomes popular, and the question ceases to divide the community; yet we think there are unmistakable evidences of an under-current in the religious world, already beginning to make itself felt, and promising, ere long, to surprise the conservators of existing abuses with revelations of their waning influence and departing power, when it may be quite too late for them to retrieve their lost position by retracing their steps and correcting their deplorable error. Should the struggle be protracted much longer, such a result appears to be almost an inevitable one. The world's history, perhaps, affords scarcely a solitary exception to this general consummation of ecclesiastical delinquency in struggles for needed reform. Providential deliverances and providential retributions, in such cases, go hand in hand. Nor is it easy to see how the high and holy ends of religious institutions and organizations could otherwise be secured. The Divine object in instituting them, which is HUMAN REDEMPTION, requires and necessitates, at least, their temporary disgrace and discomfiture (not to say overthrow) when, instead of promoting human redemption, they throw themselves as stumbling-blocks in its way.*

The condition of the Presbyterian Church in this country has already become such as to furnish an appropriate occasion for reflections of this character. At the commencement of the Anti-slavery agitation, nearly twenty years ago, the General Assembly of that highly influential denomination occupied a position contrasting strongly with the present condition of the two rival Assemblies. The sect was then united and strong. By those who were then opposed to Presbyterianism, either on the ground of its theology or its ecclesiastical polity, the General Assembly was regarded as an almost impregnable fortress, the increasing power of which, it was almost impossible to withstand; a power which was regarded with an almost hopeless dread! But a marked change has taken place, and the end is not yet. *Had that body been united and earnest in its opposition to slavery, and other great national sins*, it is hardly credible that shades of theological difference would have occasioned a division. An excruciating process took place first, and a more extended division afterwards. In both these events there was clearly visible the controlling activity of the influences hostile to the agitation of the slave question—hostile to reform.

* See Jeremiah, chap. vii.

mation, to free inquiry and to progress. The power of extensively organized Presbyterianism was thus broken in twain. Partly as sectional, and partly as through conflicting affinities, the two rival Assemblies stood and still stand before the public, in an altered position. The opposers of Presbyterianism were no longer paralyzed with fear. Had the Northern, or New School division, even then assumed a strong, decided, and firm anti-slavery position, it might have maintained its ground and become strong. But it failed to do this.*

The peculiar machinery of the Presbyterian polity, instead of being wielded against the sin of slavery, was more commonly used to cripple and harass the opposers of slavery in the churches. By little and little, a disgust was created against the polity thus wielded. In large and important sections, (as in Central and Western New-York, in Northern Ohio, and in Michigan,) a gradual abandonment of Presbyterianism for Congregationalism has been the effect, till, by the action of the Convention at Albany, new forms of ecclesiastical organization and activity, displacing to a great extent the old, have been witnessed.

The Old School, or Southern division, has suffered from an Anti-slavery secession which, if not formidable in either numbers or wealth, has subtracted no small amount of moral influence and power. Similar results have been witnessed, to a greater or less extent, in several of the ecclesiastical bodies of other important religious sects. They have sought unity, strength, and influence by standing aloof from the Anti-slavery cause, or by casting an influence against it. But the result of their policy has been, in some instances, division, and in most cases, a manifest decline of influence and power. The waning power of a Church is never more sure and rapid than when its leaders are deaf to the friendly remonstrances of those who would apprise them of the fact.

THE ASSOCIATE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH OF NORTH AMERICA.†

This Church *seceded* from the Established Church of Scotland on account of oppressive measures, and such of them as emigrated to this

* It has now upon its roll-list about twenty slaveholding Presbyteries, eighteen of which sent commissioners to the meeting at the city of Washington. There were but three commissioners from slaveholding Presbyteries who met with that Assembly at the first separate meeting in 1838. The slave increase in this body has far outrun the free since its separation. In spiritual as in worldly things, "there is a tide in the affairs of men which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune." The flood tide in the Presbyterian Church was in 1838, when the separation took place. Had the New School then carried out the great principles of liberty that stood upon the records of the Church as a theory, large accessions would doubtless have been made, and this "Constitutional" General Assembly would have been more numerous and influential than the other body. But in seeking to enlarge itself by courting slaveholders, it has lost the opportunity of extension, and appears doomed to be an unimportant body.

† This Church embraces one Presbytery, chiefly located in Canada West. The

country brought with them something of that love of liberty which had occasioned their secession. Some of them who had originally settled in Kentucky, and other slaveholding States, soon left for the North-west Territory. One congregation in Kentucky rose up as a body, minister, session and people, and removed to Ohio. The first enactment of this Church respecting slavery appears to have been in May, 1811. The first article is as follows :—

“That it is a moral evil to hold negroes, or their children, in perpetual slavery, or to claim the right of buying or selling them, or of bequeathing them as transferable property.”

The second article requires masters to liberate their slaves, and where hindered from so doing by the laws of the State, to treat them the same as if liberated; to provide for their worldly comfort, to instruct them in the things of religion, and to give them wages.

The third article directs that slaveholders not complying with the above should be excluded from the communion of the Church.

The fourth allows of the purchase of slaves, and using their service for a time, with a view to their emancipation.

The fifth gives directions for the enforcing of these regulations.

The preceding enactment continued in force for twenty years; but as the churches in the South did not pay such regard to it as was satisfactory to the rest of the brethren, complaints were made from year to year, and various efforts employed with a view to its being strictly enforced. These not proving successful, the Associate Synod, in May, 1831, adopted the following resolutions :—

1. That as slavery is clearly condemned by the law of God, and has been long since judicially declared by this Church to be a moral evil, no member thereof shall, from and after this date, be allowed to hold a human being in the character or condition of a slave.

2. That this Synod do hereby order all its subordinate judicatories to proceed forthwith to carry into execution the intention of the foregoing resolution, by requiring those church members under their immediate inspection, who may be *possessed* of slaves, to relinquish their unjust claims, and release those whom they may have heretofore considered as their property.

3. That if any member or members of this Church, in order to evade this act, shall sell any of their slaves, or make a transfer of them, so as to retain the proceeds of their services or the price of their sale, or in any other way evade the provisions of this act, they shall be subject to the censure of the Church.

4. That when an individual is found, who has spent so much of his or her strength in the service of another as to be disqualified from providing for his or her own support, the master, in such a case, is to be held responsible for the comfortable maintenance of said servant.*

number of ministers, settled and itinerating, of this denomination, is 168, and the communicants 18,157.

*At the time when these resolutions were adopted, the Associate Synod had one Presbytery whose location was entirely in the South, and two or three others whose limits embraced portions of the slaveholding States. Some of the ministers who were pastors of congregations embracing slaveholders in their communion, gave up their charges and removed to the free States. Others of them, and most of the people, immediately connected themselves with other

In 1851, the Associate Synod passed an act condemning the Fugitive Slave Bill, and enjoining upon all their people "a practical disregard of this law."

In 1852, a report on voting for immoral persons was adopted. The first section exhibits the principle upon which the report proceeds. It is as follows:

"We believe that choosing manifestly wicked men, such as infidels, slaveholders, fornicators, profane swearers, drunkards, Sabbath-breakers, gamblers, &c., to be our civil masters, is a great evil, and productive of incalculable mischief; that all who profess to love and obey God should carefully avoid it; and that the watchmen in Zion should, in their individual and judicial capacity, solemnly and faithfully warn against it."*

Although, in some respects, a few expressions in these resolutions would not be considered at this day by Abolitionists perfectly orthodox, yet how honorable to this Church are such proceedings! and how honorable it would be to the Old and New School Presbyterians if they emulated the anti-slavery spirit of this venerable body of Seceders.

UNITED BRETHREN IN CHRIST.†

This Church believes that slavery is a sin *per se*. The Constitution of the Church, which cannot be altered except by a vote of two thirds of the members of the whole society, says:—

"All slavery in every sense of the word is totally prohibited, and shall in no way be tolerated in our Church. Should any be found in our society who hold slaves, they cannot continue as members unless they do personally manumit or set free such slaves. And when it is known to any of our ministers in charge of a circuit station or mission, that any of its members hold a slave or slaves, he shall admonish such member to manumit such slave or slaves; and if such persons do not take measures to carry out the discipline, they shall be expelled by the proper authorities of the Church; and any minister refusing to attend to the duties above described shall be dealt with by the authorities to which he is amenable."

The above section of discipline has been in force and carried out since 1821. No attempt has been made to repeal it. This Church has con-

churches of a more tolerant character. The Synod, some time afterwards, sent a missionary with a letter addressed to the people who had been under their care, with a view to reconcile them to *their* proceedings, but the missionary was beset by a mob while preaching on the Sabbath, and after it was discovered that there were no grounds for any legal proceedings against him, he was dismissed with a coat of tar and feathers. The Southern Presbytery became extinct, and the members of the Associate Church are now almost exclusively in the free States.

* This is followed by seven propositions relating to the supremacy of the Divine law, the duties of magistrates, the duty of citizens in choosing magistrates, and the duty of ministers to instruct the people and warn them in regard to the choice of magistrates.

† This denomination is distinguished from the old United Brethren, or Moravian Church, by the additional phrase "In Christ."

gregations in Missouri, Kentucky, Virginia and Maryland. At the General Conference, May 12, 1853, the *Southern delegates* reported that there were twelve cases of legal connection with slavery in the Church, but they were of a character so peculiar, that a difference of opinion had arisen as to whether the discipline *intended* to exclude them. The opinion and advice of the Conference was asked. The following answer, in substance, was given :—

“All those cases reported are cases prohibited by the plain letter of our Discipline. Execute papers of immediate emancipation. The sympathy of this Conference given to palliated cases of slavery would be an entering wedge of slavery into our Church. The Church must be disconnected with slavery in all its forms. The bishops are instructed to carry out the *letter* of Discipline.”

The action in this case was taken without a dissenting voice, and the delegates from the South assured the Conference that the intention of the Discipline, as above explained, should be executed.

The General Conference made provision for the publication of a monthly magazine. The following is from the Prospectus :—

“The immediate abolition of slavery; rejecting that most odious and barbarous notion, that man has a right to hold property in man. The position will be taken that this is a monster that can never be tamed, a sin which violates every precept of the Bible. It will be our object to show that slavery (by which we mean the holding of property in man) is sinful, necessarily sinful, under all possible and conceivable circumstances.”

The *Religious Telescope*, which is the organ of the Church, breathes a warm anti-slavery spirit. It condemns the platforms of the old political parties, and approves that of the Free Democracy. It opposes the Fugitive Slave Act, and all “Black Laws.” Nearly all the preachers vote the Free Democratic ticket, and a large number of the members. The anti-slavery sentiment in relation to political action is *rapidly* advancing. It is believed that in a short time the whole Church will cast its influence, politically, in the right direction, and *vote* as it now believes and prays. This denomination now numbers about 70,000 members.

EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

This body makes no pretension to be anti-slavery, although some of its members are distinguished for the ability and zeal with which they promote the cause. The question of the admission of colored churches into union with the Convention of the Diocese of New-York was pressed upon that body several times during last year, and on each occasion pertinaciously evaded. The two colored churches in the city of New-York, the Church

St. Philip and the Church of the Messiah, have formally applied for admission; and the Standing Committee on the Incorporation of Churches, of which Ex-Chief Justice Jones is Chairman, has reported

that they had complied with all the requisites of the canon, and unanimously recommended their admission. Their canonical rights being thus recognized, and no room being left for technical objections on the score of the regularity of their incorporation, their opponents, fearing the result of a direct vote by orders, in which each clergyman and each lay delegation are compelled to vote separately and *viva voce*, under a direct personal responsibility, seem to have determined, at whatever hazard, to elude the subject. On the first day of the session, Rev. Mr. Morris moved the admission of the Church of St. Philip; and the motion was seconded by John Jay, Esq., who remarked, that the example hitherto set by the Convention on this subject was not only at variance with the clear intention of the Constitution and canons, and derogatory to their own character, but widely injurious to the cause of religion, and most oppressive in its influence upon the colored people. Judge Oakley protested against the introduction of the resolution, as contrary to their rules of order. The President, Dr. Creighton, decided the motion to be out of order.

On the second day, Mr. Jay called up the subject, by offering a resolution, with a preamble, referring to the exclusion of the colored congregations during successive years, pronouncing such exclusion a violation of their constitutional rights, of catholic unity, apostolic precedent, and Christian brotherhood, and inviting such churches forthwith to union with the Convention, assuring them of a cordial and affectionate reception. Great excitement was at once manifested, and various suggestions upon points of order were made; but it not appearing that any valid objection could be made to the resolution on this ground, John C. Spencer, Esq., who has distinguished himself by his bitter opposition to the colored churches, rose and objected to the *reception of the resolution*. He remarked, that he wished to keep this subject entirely out of the Convention, and especially to *keep it out of their minutes*. He therefore moved "that the resolution be not received." There were a dozen or more members, according to the report of the *Tribune*, rising to speak, when the President rose to put the question upon Mr. Spencer's motion. Mr. Jay attempted to say a few words, but was interrupted by cries of "Question," "Question," from all parts of the house; and the President again rose and put the question, "Shall the resolution be received?" Mr. Jay immediately called for the *vote by orders*, and was seconded by the requisite number, a call by five being necessary. *The President now changed his mind, and refused to put the question, and ruled that the original resolution was out of order.* Dr. Tyng, in order to have the house sustain the decision of the Chair, appealed from the

decision; when the question on the appeal was taken, and the Chairman sustained by a large majority.

The election of a Bishop was then proceeded with, and resulted in the election of Rev. Dr. Wainwright. Before the adjournment, on Friday, Mr. Jay offered as an amendment to Canon IV.: "Of the admission of a church into union with the Church in this Diocese," the following additional section:

"SECT. III. No church, applying for admission, which shall have been found duly incorporated as above provided, shall be refused admission into union with the Convention of this Diocese on account of the race, lineage, color or complexion of the congregation so applying, or any part thereof, or of the minister presiding over the same; nor on account of any social or political disqualifications of any kind whatsoever that may attach, or may be supposed to attach, to them without the Church; and all churches admitted into union with the said Convention shall be admitted without any condition or disqualification establishing or recognizing caste in the Church, upon a footing of catholic equality and Christian brotherhood."

This amendment, remarked the *Protestant Churchman*, in its report, "*under the rules, lies over for discussion at the next Convention.*" That such would be the case, was stated by the President and Secretary at the time it was offered, and it would accordingly have a place upon the record. But this would have defeated the intention of Mr. Spencer and his coadjutors to prevent any mention of the subject on the minutes; and, in accordance with his suggestion, the record was mutilated at an adjourned session held the next morning, when the attendance was very meagre, most of the delegates, Mr. Jay among them, having gone to the country. We quote the *Tribune*:

"About ten o'clock, the President called the Convention to order, and the Secretary read the minutes of the previous day's proceedings. Before approving the minutes, the Convention voted to omit from the record a notice given by John Jay, Esq., that at the next session of the Convention he would move certain amendments to the Fourth Canon. The reason alleged was, that Mr. Jay might not be a representative in the next Convention; but the public will have their own opinion of the real motive, when they recollect how long Mr. Jay has fought almost single-handed for the legal recognition of the colored church existing in this Diocese."

In Pennsylvania, Bishop Potter* has warmly advocated the admission of the colored churches, but was left in a minority by the Convention. Bishop Wainwright, it is to be hoped, will exert his episcopal influence in their behalf at the next Convention in New-York. His recent visit to England, and the stern reproof of the American Church by the Bishop of Oxford, for its connection with slavery and its recognition of caste, must have convinced him that the shuffling course his Diocesan Convention

* See action of the Pennsylvania Episcopal Convention.

has hitherto pursued, if not instantly checked and replaced by a decent regard to constitutional rights, to parliamentary rules, and to scriptural principles, will expose it to the contempt and indignation of the Christian world. There is little fear that colored churches will be much longer excluded; but it is deeply to be regretted that their admission, when it shall come, will be a tardy act of justice, *compelled*, in a great measure, by public opinion, which has been already outraged by the measures resorted to for their exclusion, instead of being, as it should have been, a prompt and hearty recognition of the universal and equal brotherhood of Christians.

Before dismissing this branch of the history of the times, we would revert to a response made to the eloquent speech of Senator Sumner, copies of which an Episcopal gentleman had sent to several persons in different parts of the country, by an Episcopal clergyman of South Carolina :

LETTER.

To the so-called, Hon. Charles Sumner :

SIR: With characteristic Yankee insolence and Abolition folly, you have presumed to insult me, in common with others of my brethren, by sending me your rabid speech, which I return with the expression of my profound contempt for the author.

J. W. SIMMONS.*

Spartanburg C. H., Oct. 12, 1852.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH NORTH.

In our Report for 1850, we showed that the notion that the Methodist Church North was Anti-slavery, was erroneous; and that the separation between it and the Methodist Church South was not brought about by the opposition of the Northern party to slavery. This has been denied, but we have evidence that the assertion heretofore made was true.

At the last General Conference the whole subject was ignored. In answer to numerous petitions for the Church to take a bold anti-slavery ground, a report was prepared, urging that nothing be done, to secure peace. The report was not even called up. A member wished to propose a plan for the *gradual* removal of the sin from the Church, but he was "choked down." It was stated by prominent members of the Conference, at its sitting, that their wish was to gather as many slaveholders as possible within the pale of the Church, and no one denied it. Nine Conferences have been formed by the Northern branch in slave States, and a wish was expressed that by another four years they might have a Conference in every Southern State, it being understood that slavehold-

* We copy the above from the *National Era*, with the remark of the editor, that the writer of the letter was recently the minister of St. Stephen's Chapel, Charleston, S. C.; and that his epistle was published without the privity of Mr. Sumner.

ing would be no bar to membership.* A regular Conference member of this Church, who acknowledges that he has been one of those who insisted that the M. E. Church North was anti-slavery, in the *National Era* of September 9, 1852, communicated the above facts, and added :

"Now look at these facts, and say what is the position of the M. E. Church, judged by her highest assembly. But, says a good brother at my side who declares the Church is anti-slavery to the back-bone, 'there it is in the Discipline as strong as ever; they have not touched that.' Ay! and where else is it, except in the Discipline? Of what use is it there, so long as the Church does not act upon it?"

"And now, one word to my brethren in the ministry. In the name of honesty, before God, brethren, let us no more say we are an Anti-slavery Church; let us acknowledge before high Heaven that the foul slime of the thing is on us; and let us pray, and weep, and labor night and day, until God in mercy move in our behalf, and purify our Zion of the vilest thing that ever saw the sun."

This surely is a melancholy picture of the best half of the Church in this country founded by the venerable Wesley. But, in justice to the large number of its members who are valiantly waging a moral battle for the truth, against pro-slavery Methodists both North and South, we add, there is reason to believe that the Anti-slavery cause is advancing in the M. E. Church at this time. Three Annual Conferences in this State have passed resolutions, by large majorities, against the Fugitive Slave Bill, and in favor of such an amendment of the Discipline as will wholly exclude slavery from the Church. Other Conferences have passed resolutions of nearly the same general character, condemning slavery and expressing a desire that it be extirpated from the Church and the world. The periodical literature is said to be more than ever in the hands of Anti-slavery men, and some portions of it doing effective service in favor of emancipation. New-England has long been in advance on this subject of most other portions of this Church. The following is some evidence of it :

At the session of the Methodist Conference at Ipswich, May 2d, the Committee on Slavery reported the following series of resolutions, which, after considerable discussion, were adopted :

"1. That as a Conference we are as fully and deeply convinced as ever that all voluntary slaveholding, or the holding of slaves in bondage for the sake of gain, under any circumstances, is a flagrant sin against God and humanity.

"2. That it is our deliberate and settled opinion that no more persons guilty of the sin of slaveholding should be admitted as members into our Church.

"3. That we are fully persuaded that if a proper discipline were duly admin-

* A minister of this denomination who undertook to defend the Church North, just before the meeting of Conference, against the charge of its being a pro-slavery body, said shortly afterwards at a preachers' meeting, in alluding to the defense he had offered, "The action of our Conference cast the lie into my teeth, for not one third of the committee to whom the subject was committed would entertain it."

istered, or if the spirit even of our present Discipline were fully carried out, all voluntary slaveholders would soon be either brought to repentance and reformation of life, or for the sin of slaveholding be expelled from the Church.

"4. That as there is a difference of opinion as to whether our Discipline, as it now reads, would exclude such persons from our communion, it is the sense of this Conference, that the Discipline should be so altered and amended as to include a well-defined and clearly expressed rule, prohibiting their reception into the communion of the Methodist Episcopal Church."

It is hoped that every Conference in the free States will imitate this noble example, and that the day is not far distant when this branch of the Church of Christ will, as a whole, take the right position, and treat slaveholding as it now treats adultery and murder.

METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH SOUTH.

It will not, probably, be doubted that the position of the Methodist Episcopal Church South is decidedly and openly pro-slavery. One single fact may suffice here.

One of the most observable results of the corrupting influence of slavery, is the repudiation by its supporters of principles of equality, freedom and justice, solemnly and publicly avowed by the nation or the Church, or accepted by the people. This is occasionally done directly, frankly, but oftener more cautiously, by a method of construction or interpretation which emasculates the sentiment, leaving nothing but powerless and empty words. The direct method is the one adopted by South Carolinians, as we have often seen. A few weeks since, the slaveholding Methodists of that State gave a new proof of the character and object of their supreme devotion. We allude to the passage of a vote by the South Carolina Conference, expunging from the Methodist Book of Discipline the section upon slavery.

An attempt had previously been made to procure such action from the Methodist Church South, but that body preferred the cunning expedient of repudiating without formally expunging the objectionable section, and so ordered a note to be appended to the section, declaring the sense of the Conference that it was to be regarded as a dead letter and entirely inoperative. This kind of temporizing did not satisfy the South Carolina Methodists, and hence they have taken the responsibility of striking it from the Book of Discipline, and publishing an expurgation for the use of their churches.

This is the section referred to :

"SECTION X.—OF SLAVERY.

"Ques.—What shall be done for the extirpation of the evils of slavery?

"Ans.—1. We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery; therefore no slaveholder shall be eligible to any official station

in our Church hereafter, where the laws of the State in which he lives will admit of emancipation, and permit the liberated slave to enjoy freedom.

"2. When any travelling preacher becomes an owner of a slave or slaves by any means, he shall forfeit his ministerial character in our Church, unless he execute, if it be practicable, a legal emancipation of such slaves, conformably to the laws of the State in which he lives.

"3. All our preachers shall prudently enforce upon our members the necessity of teaching their slaves to read the Word of God; and to allow them time to attend upon the public worship of God on our regular days of divine service."

And yet this Church seems peculiarly zealous in the work of evangelizing the colored people, according to their standard of evangelical religion!

"According to the Seventh Annual Report of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, 120 missions and 111 missionaries are sustained by that Church among the colored people of the South—the number of members being 33,378, and the number of children and adults receiving instruction, 16,385. This Church, we presume, is by far the most active in the work of missions among the slaves; but when we remember that the colored population of the South is over three millions, how utterly inadequate are their means of religious instruction, reasoning upon the data furnished above!"*

To this it should be added, that the religious instruction of the slaves, so far as we know, is exclusively *oral*, or nearly so; that they are not furnished with Bibles, and are taught that the Bible sanctions slavery.

BAPTISTS.

There appears to have been very little direct or specific action of the Baptist churches against slavery during the past year. Some of the Associations have passed anti-slavery resolutions, but they do not appear to have led to any practical results. In the Annual Report of the *Missionary Union*, which held its anniversary on the 19th and 20th May, 1852, is the following paragraph:

"Slaveholders separated from the Mission Churches.—It was stated in our last Report that correspondence had been opened with the mission in reference to its relations to slaveholding; from individuals, members of churches, being slaveholders. The last communication received, dated in March, announces that 'slaveholding has been separated from all our churches.' 'I trust,' adds Mr. Jones, 'that our brethren will unite with us in thanksgiving for our deliverance from so great an evil; and I trust also, that our more ardent friends will not make any vain-glorious parade about it: for there is no glory due to any one but God, whose wise and gracious providence has brought the whole thing to pass.'

That this matter ever engaged the attention of the "Union" at all, we are assured, was owing to an external pressure of anti-slavery sentiment originating with free missionists. All it had done in the premises is expressed in four words: "Correspondence had been opened;" and

* *National Era*, October 21, 1852.

this had been done reluctantly, tardily, and because it could not well be avoided.

In the meantime, the "Union," in common with the other great benevolent organizations in this denomination—the Home Missionary Society, the two Bible Societies, and the Publication Society—adheres, in respect to the slavery question, to its old position of professed neutrality, inviting slaveholders and non-slaveholders alike to its membership; holding them alike eligible to all offices and appointments in its gift; receiving alike their proffered contributions for religious purposes, and, in a word, putting no difference between them.

The general separation of Southern from Northern Baptists in benevolent operations is sometimes urged as evidence that the latter have no connection or sympathy with slavery; but they who think so do not properly consider the motives and character of that separation. It was one, not of principle, but of policy. The South had recourse to it as a measure of expediency. The North submitted to it as a matter of necessity. Its object was to prevent the constant collision of elements that would not coalesce without essentially impairing the harmony of those who, respectively, would mould and shape these elements to their own purposes. Hence, there has been from the first, between the leaders of the Northern and Southern organizations, a cordial fraternization. That there are many sincere Anti-slavery men connected with the Northern branch of this family of Societies, is not to be denied; but the position in which that connection places them prevents to a great extent the effective development of their anti slavery tendencies.

We lament to be obliged to record such a state of things. The Baptists in England and in the British colonies have done so much for freedom, that at one time it was expected that the Baptists in this country would take the lead in anti-slavery effort. For a time, many were zealous in the cause; but the "martyr-spirit" that distinguished British and American Baptists in former times does not appear to exist in the leading minds in this denomination at the present time, so far, at least, as anti-slavery effort is concerned. Shall it always be so?

SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS.

This religious body is true to the Anti-slavery cause. At the meeting of the Eastern Association at Waterford, Conn., May, 1852, the following resolutions were adopted:

3. Believing it to be the duty of the Church to bear testimony against sin wherever found, whether in individuals or collective bodies; and believing that slavery, as it exists in our country, involves the most flagrant sins, and almost a total subversion of Christian principle; therefore—

Resolved, (1.) That we enter our solemn protest against the system of American slavery, as a sin against God, and a libel upon our national declaration, that "all men are created equal."

Resolved, (2.) That we regard the Fugitive Slave Law as an atrocious violation of the rights of humanity and the principles of the gospel—the enforcement of which actually prohibits the discharge of duties which are obligatory on every Christian; and that to aid in its execution would be treason to Jesus Christ.

Resolved, (3.) That, as an Association of Christian churches, we disclaim all fellowship with slavery or its abettors.

DAVID DUNN, *Moderator*.

H. H. BAKER, *Rec. Sec.*

At the meeting of the General Conference at Plainfield, N. J., September, 1852, the following Resolutions passed:

Resolved, That we reaffirm our abhorrence of the system of American slavery; and that we deprecate the passage and enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, as hostile to the rights of humanity, and in conflict with the law of God and the benevolent spirit of the gospel.

JAMES BAILEY, *Moderator*.

H. H. BAKER, }
J. M. ALLEN, } *Secretaries*.
A. C. BURDICK, }

FREEWILL BAPTISTS.

This scion of the old Roger Williams' stock is, with regard to the Anti-slavery cause, unquestionably sound. The last General Conference was held in 1850.* The anti-slavery resolutions then taken have been vigorously sustained by the yearly and quarterly meetings and the churches; and we have reason to believe that at the next Conference, October next, still stronger ground will be taken by this Church. At an early day of the anti-slavery agitation in this country, it took the position, *in theory and practice*, that it is a grief to the spirit of Christ to admit those guilty of holding their fellow-men as property, either to church fellowship or communion. Notwithstanding the obloquy cast upon them by the ungodly and by worldly professors of religion in consequence of this uncompromising and scriptural determination, a large increase of members has taken place, and at the same time, we believe, a great moral influence in the community. All who unite with them, covenant to sustain the Anti-slavery enterprise, and the other benevolent enterprises of the day. The *Morning Star*, a weekly paper of the Freewill Baptists, is one of the best-edited and best-printed newspapers in the country; and the *Free Baptist Quarterly*, devoted to "Truth and Progress," recently commenced, is an able publication. Both of them, of course, advocate, decidedly and unreservedly, the Anti-slavery cause.

CONGREGATIONALISTS.

THE GENERAL ASSOCIATION of Congregational Ministers in Massachusetts, at their meeting in Yarmouth in June, 1852, adopted the following Resolutions:

* See our Annual Report of 1851, for its anti-slavery action at that time.

"1st, That in continuing our correspondence with Southern ecclesiastical bodies, this Association, so far from expressing any satisfaction with the practice of slaveholding, desire it to be understood that, in connection with other objects, it is for the purpose of bearing their continued and earnest testimony against the sin of slaveholding, and exerting their appropriate influence in favor of its speedy removal.

"2d, That while the General Association of Massachusetts entertain a profound regard for our large Publishing Societies, and rejoice in the great good they are accomplishing, they would express an earnest desire that these Societies would not make the subject of slavery an exception in their efforts to rid the world of all iniquity by diffusing throughout it an evangelical literature, but would set forth in their publications the sentiment of our common Christianity on the enormous sin of slavery, with the same freedom and faithfulness with which they exhibit and rebuke all other sins."

A CONGREGATIONAL CONVENTION that assembled at MANSFIELD, OHIO, June 23d, 1852, adapted the following Resolutions :

"*Resolved*, That we regard American slavery as both a great evil and a great violation of the law of God and of the rights of man; and that we deem it our sacred duty to protest, by every Christian means, against slaveholding, and against any and all acts which recognize the false and pernicious principle that makes merchandise of man.

"*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, the Congregational Conference of the State of Ohio which we propose to form should hold no ecclesiastical correspondence with slaveholding bodies."

The above were adopted by *unanimous vote*, and the Conference duly formed.

CONVENTION AT ALBANY.—A very large number of lay and clerical delegates from various Congregational churches throughout the country assembled at ALBANY, N. Y., October 5, 1852. The most interesting and important discussion during the session occurred on the third subject reported for consideration, on "the system of operations of the American Home Missionary Society." The Society had given offense to large numbers of Congregationalists in consequence of sustaining several ministers of churches in the slave States, into which slaveholders are admitted and treated as members in good standing. The Committee to whom the subject was committed agreed to report the following Resolutions, by a vote of 9 to 6 :

"Believing that those who for their own advantage hold and use their fellow-men as slaves violate a cardinal principle of true religion, and ought not to be received into Christian churches; it is our opinion that churches which recognize such slaveholders as worthy of membership ought not to receive aid from the American Home Missionary Society; and therefore, in dispensing the funds with which it is intrusted by the Christian public, it should give aid to such churches only as refuse such recognition."

Dr. Peters, the chairman, on behalf of the minority of the Committee, moved to substitute the following :

"*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the gospel, wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to

destroy sin in all its forms; and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to churches in slaveholding States, in the support of such ministers only as shall endeavor, with simplicity of purpose, and with a wise discretion in their ministry, so to preach the gospel and commend it to the hearts and consciences of men, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in mitigating the oppression of slavery, and leading to its ultimate abolition.”*

A warm debate ensued. Several motions and counter-motions were made, one of them to lay the whole subject on the table, but they did not succeed. In the midst of considerable excitement, Lewis Tappan moved that the two reports be re-committed, with instructions to the Committee to bring in, if possible, a unanimous report. The same evening, Dr. Peters, to the agreeable surprise of a large portion of the members, reported a resolution that had been unanimously agreed upon by the Committee :

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the gospel, wherever preached in its purity, to correct all social evils, and to destroy sin in all its forms; and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to churches in slaveholding States in the support of such ministers only as shall so preach the gospel, and inculcate the principles and application of gospel discipline, that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in respect to slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong; and that wherever a minister is not permitted so to preach, he should, in accordance with the directions of Christ in such cases, “depart out of that city.”

The resolution was adopted almost by acclamation; but there is reason to apprehend that the American Home Missionary Society will not carry out the views of the Convention when they adopted the resolution. Probably some who voted for it expected such a result.

Mr. Lewis Tappan then offered a resolution in condemnation of the Fugitive Slave Bill, in language very similar to that used in Dr. Marsh’s resolution on temperance, that had been unanimously adopted the previous day; but a strenuous opposition being made to it by a few persons, the subject was postponed until the next morning. At the commencement of the next day’s session, Mr. Tappan said :

“After a consultation with a number of members, he had concluded not to bring up his resolution. Several members had left for their homes, and some misapprehended the object. There was not time for explanation and discussion, and the moral victory obtained last evening, in adopting the report of the Committee respecting the missionaries of the American Home Missionary Society, was deemed by several sufficient at the present time. Under these circumstances, although he believed that a large portion of the Convention would be found to concur in the resolution, he had determined not to press the question.”

It was evident that several leading men in the Convention were decidedly opposed to the resolution, although its language was unexception-

* This resolution, representing the views of the conservative portion of the Convention, shows the prevalence of the anti-slavery sentiment in the free States.

able. Still it is a subject of profound gratitude that the labors of anti-slavery Christians have had so much effect as to bring about the adoption of sentiments so far in advance of those entertained by the Church generally a few years since.

THE REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA.

Slavery has long since been removed from this Church. In 1800, Rev. Dr. Alexander McLeod, of New-York city, being invited to settle at Wallkill, and learning that there were holders of slaves in the congregation, urged that fact as a motive for declining the call. The Presbytery having, by the stand thus taken, the subject regularly before them, resolved to purge the Church of the sin. They enacted that no slaveholder should be retained in their communion. Rev. Messrs. James McKenney and Samuel B. Wylie were appointed a committee to visit South Carolina, where they abolished the practice of holding slaves among the members of their Church at the South. The Presbytery approved of the services of the committee, and required of their connection a general emancipation. No slaveholder has since been admitted to their communion.

The measures of the committee were as follows: Meeting with the several congregations where slaves were held by church members, they directed the slaves to be brought before them. Those who were able to take care of themselves they set free at once. Those who, from advanced age, extreme youth, or other reasons, were considered incompetent, were placed under the immediate care of the Sessions of the Church, to receive full liberty when prepared for it; and all deeds of emancipation were recorded in the proper civil court. One individual only declined to submit to the Presbytery's deed of emancipation. The people in general were in very moderate circumstances, but "Christian principle triumphed over self-interest; and in several other parts of the United States, men sacrificed on the altar of religion the 'property' which the civil law gave them in their fellow-men."

In March, 1850, in a letter from the General Synod of this Church to the Synod in Scotland,* it was said:

"As a Church we continue to maintain a decided testimony against this great social sin and grievous wrong. We have several congregations in the slaveholding States, but no slaveholders are admitted to their communion. Our people will not even hire a slave, when the proceeds of his labor go to him who claims to be his owner. The existence of slavery is a standing item in our causes of fasting and humiliation from year to year; and the voice of our minis-

* This letter was written by J. N. McLeod, D.D., of this city; the same gentleman who, upwards of twenty years ago, wrote arguments which were published, taking ground so ably maintained in Senator Sumner's speech.

ters and people is heard, in instruction, remonstrances, and warning respecting it, on all becoming occasions, through the press, and from the pulpit and the platform."

In 1852, the General Synod expressed the views of this Church on slavery, and especially on the subject of the Fugitive Slave Bill, in the following terms :

"As friends of humanity and of the cause of Christ, we are bound to deplore the existence of slavery in any part of the world. But especially are we bound to lament and deplore the continuance and spread of this *monster evil* in our own land, in the mal-administration of our good civil Constitution, and under the sanction of law. We deplore it as a sin against God, involving this nation in deepest guilt, and a crime against man of the most aggravated character. We are bound, too, to lament the countenance given to this monster sin by professing Christians and by the American churches, which consider it no bar to Christian communion. We are convinced that it but requires that the Christian churches of America should withdraw their countenance from the unjust and cruel system, and faithfully exhibit the truths of that gospel which condemns oppression, denounces injustice, and proclaims liberty to the captive, in order that the institution of slavery may languish and die, and therefore that the awful responsibility of perpetuating its evils rests mainly on professors of Christianity. We are bound especially to protest against the law usually called the 'Fugitive Slave Law,' as a disgrace to the age and country in which we live. By its legally compelling the people of the free States to aid in the capture of fugitives from bondage, it involves the whole Union in the guilt of slavery, tramples on State rights and the rights of man and of conscience. It exhibits an example of legislation calculated to make our boast of freedom an empty name, and to retard the progress of liberty throughout the world. By its practical operation in remanding men and women and children into endless slavery, it tends to blunt the moral sensibilities of our nature, and extinguish the love of liberty in the breasts of freemen. Instances of cruelty have already occurred which ought to make even paganism itself blush.

"Although the Reformed Presbyterian Church more than half a century ago has rid herself of any connection with slavery, has no fellowship with slaveholders, and has during all that period uttered a distinct testimony against this crying abomination in our land, yet as witnesses for truth we feel called upon to renew this testimony in most decided terms, because this dreadful evil has recently been gaining renewed strength under the sanction of ecclesiastical connivance and civil enactments. Even *now*, attempts are in progress to strangle the genius of liberty by congressional resolutions, declaring the compromises a 'finality.' "Is not this the fast that I have chosen, to loose the hands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke? Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry; and that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house? When thou seest the naked, that thou cover him, and that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?" Isa. lviii. 6, 7."

There is another ecclesiastical body in this country, bearing the same name, that seceded from the above some twenty years ago. Both agree as to slavery in general, though the seceding body differs with the other in the view taken of the Government connection with slavery. The seceders believe that the evil is constitutional and essential, and therefore disown the Government, at least in theory. The body, of which we have spoken at some length, believe that slavery is a great inconsistency with our Constitution, and the whole genius of our institutions—an evil to be

reformed and taken away from institutions otherwise good. For this they, in common with many other Christians, labor and support the Government in all they believe to be right; and while they consider it imperfect and wrong in many things, in constitution and administration, they are thankful it is as good as it is.

THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION.

This denomination, numbering about twenty-five thousand communicants and three hundred and fifty ministers, have not a slaveholder in their Church, and cannot, agreeably to their rules, receive any such. In their Discipline is the following :

"OF SLAVERY.

Question. What is to be done respecting slaveholders and the slave-trade?

Answer. We have long since been convinced that the buying and selling of men and women, and slavery, is a great evil, and ought to be abhorred by every Christian: be it therefore known to all fellow-members, that none shall be allowed, under any pretense or condition whatever, the holding of slaves or the trafficking in the same."

Such is the doctrine of this Church. We understand that the Church is united in regard to it. No opposition manifests itself.

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

This denomination, like several others, has been divided into two bodies. In theory both have maintained determined opposition to slavery. Albert Barnes, in his work on slavery, passed a high and well-merited eulogium upon the Friends, for their early and thorough discipline on the subject. In this country, as well as in England, this highly-respectable body did much with regard to measures for the extinction of the slave-trade; and both abroad and in the United States, some of the most active and influential members of conventions to form Anti-slavery Societies, and to carry out the principles adopted, have been Friends. But in this country, truth obliges us to say, the Friends have stood aloof from the Anti-slavery reform, in much greater numbers, proportionably, than they have in England; and, we may be permitted to observe, TESTIMONY against slavery, unaccompanied by appropriate and efficient action, is like FAITH WITHOUT WORKS—"dead, being alone."

Last year, the New-York Yearly Meeting (Orthodox) adopted and widely circulated an address to the people of the United States on the subject of slavery. We do not know that any other body of Friends, since 1851, has done any thing in reference to the subject, excepting "Indiana Meeting for Sufferings." A proposition was made to call a meeting for

the purpose of considering the propriety of memorializing Congress against the Fugitive Slave Bill, and "fully united with." When this was settled, a member queried whether, if the Bill was considered of sufficient importance to call this meeting together to protest against it, Friends could consistently *vote* for a man for President who was pledged to support it. This was too plain a case to be evaded, and nearly half of the meeting arose and responded in the negative. Another member then asked whether, inasmuch as there was a candidate before the people pledged against the enormities of slavery, it was the duty of Friends to vote for him. About half as many spoke, saying they believed it was; and it was concluded that the members of the meeting should communicate to Friends throughout the limits of the Yearly Meeting, the *exercise* on the subject. It would have been more to the purpose, we think, if the advice had been published in the usual way.

The "Meeting for Sufferings" met, and agreed to send a PROTEST to Congress against the Fugitive Slave Bill, believing that a petition for its repeal would be useless.

SWEDENBORGIANS.

"The New Church," or the "Church of the New Jerusalem," commonly known as the Swedenborgian Church, as such, neither has done, so far as we can learn, nor is doing any thing with reference to American slavery, excepting to let it alone with all their might. As a reason for it, we are told that the principles of the Church are such as to favor but little *associated action* among its members. The editor of "*The Anglo-American New Church Repository and Monthly Review*"* has, in several numbers of the periodical, discussed the subject of slavery as if he were feeling after the truth; and his cautious, inquiring, half-digested essays appear to have met with severe condemnation on the part of his brethren, North and South. He seems to have been honestly desirous that the subject should be discussed in his Church, but he cannot find, it would appear, any one to second his efforts.

The "New Churchmen," as a body, are evidently disposed to acquiesce passively in the system of slavery, as in their opinion a providential allotment, although some of their number go so far as to *justify* it. We believe, however, such cases are rare, except at the South.

We should gather from the discussions above alluded to, that the talented editor holds to the original, intrinsic, and radical wrong involved in the system, to the nullity of all claims to property in man, and to the obligation of the immediate mental surrender of all such claims. He

* Rev. George Bush.

would lay the axe at the root of the *traffic*, but has no conception of the duty of immediate manumission. Notwithstanding this, he is constitutionally, and from principle, in favor of AGITATION; and would be glad, if we do not misapprehend him, of never giving it up until the evil is agitated out of the land. If, as is claimed by this Church, "all Life is an emanation of Love," how can they for a moment justify, palliate, or neglect to oppose a system which dooms so large a portion of their fellow-countrymen to a condition which is the emanation of hate, tyranny, ignorance and brutality.

THE UNITARIAN BODY AND SLAVERY.*

It is difficult to ascertain the position of this denomination on the great question of American Slavery, because it possesses so few of the characteristics of a "denomination," and has no adequate method of giving a denominational expression of sentiment. Its churches maintain the purest form of Congregationalism, are entirely independent of each other, and there is no organization among them, in which either they or their ministers are fully and fairly represented. It is a denomination without discipline and without ecclesiastical rule or authority, composed of independent churches and ministers, and embraces the widest latitude of opinion, both in theology and on the practical reforms of the age. The only approximation we can make to an understanding of its position on the slavery question, is to judge it from the character and proceedings of its annual convention of ministers and laymen, called the "Autumnal Convention," and from the anniversary meetings of the "American Unitarian Association" and the "Ministerial Conference." But even here it is necessary to guard against the impression that these bodies represent, in any proper manner, the churches and ministers who compose the Unitarian body of this country. They are not composed of delegates from the societies, but are made up of such ministers and laymen as choose voluntarily to attend them. Many churches are not even present by the voluntary attendance of any of their members, and a considerable number of ministers never attend them, and refuse to unite in any denominational action whatever, or even to bear the Unitarian name.

The American Unitarian Association is composed of persons paying a certain sum for life, or annually, for missionary and tract purposes, and has no proper representative character whatever. For these reasons it is

* This portion of the Report is printed precisely as it was received from a highly respectable Unitarian minister. Some of it will apply with equal force and propriety to other denominations. It could not well be abridged, and unaccompanied by this explanation, the whole could not have been inserted with propriety as the language of the Committee.

almost impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the position of the Unitarian body of this country on any subject.

Taking the best lights we have, the Unitarian denomination, as far as it may be called a denomination, while it embraces several churches and ministers who have taken decided ground against the sin of American slavery, occupies, on the whole, rather a neutral position on this great question of our country and age. Nearly all its ministers in the free States are accustomed to bear an occasional testimony to their people against this sin ; but many of them do even so much at the peril of a dismissal, through the influence of the pro-slavery and conservative element, which exists more or less in almost every Unitarian congregation. It has become much more difficult for the ministers to speak their convictions on this subject, and many of them have been obliged to study the policy of silence, or give up their situations, since the treachery of Daniel Webster and the Whig party to the cause of freedom ; many leading, wealthy and prominent Unitarians being the active supporters of that fallen statesman, whom God in his mercy has removed from the world, and of the Whig party, which he transferred to the active support of the Fugitive Slave Law, and thus accomplished its and his own destruction. It has been the policy of all such Unitarians to prevent their ministers from preaching on the subject, and from exerting any influence upon their congregations, or the public sentiment, against this God-defying and Heaven-daring iniquity of our land ; and having generally the influence of money and of high social and political station on their side, they have succeeded, in many instances, in restraining the liberty of the pulpit, in causing ministers to stifle their convictions, and in controlling the action of the Conventions and Associations of the denomination. The number who have resisted these influences, and continued to speak out their convictions in the face of opposition, embraces a small but faithful class of men, among whom may be mentioned Theodore Parker, (the Rationalist,) John Pierpont, Samuel J. May, William H. Furness, Henry W. Bellows, Caleb Stetson, Thomas T. Stone, George F. Simmons, John T. Sargent, John Weiss, T. W. Higginson, J. G. Forman, Augustus Woodbury, Nathaniel Hall, Oliver Stearns, E. B. Wilson, Samuel Longfellow, Hasbrouc Davis, which is far from embracing the whole list of them scattered over New-England, but all that are now remembered.

As a general thing, the Doctors of Divinity and the clergy of the wealthy and conservative parishes maintain a neutral position, and act in conjunction with the wealthy and conservative laymen, in preventing all action on the subject of slavery and practical reform by the Conventions and Associations. There are a few societies and ministers in the South who are either silent or give their influence on the side of slavery.

In the South-west there are two societies that are understood to be considerably imbued with anti-slavery sentiments. One of these, the society at St. Louis, Mo., has recently become freed from the guilt of slaveholding, all its slaveholding members having emancipated their slaves. The other, at Louisville, Ky., it is said, is moving in the same direction. There are probably very few Unitarians who are slaveholders.

Rev. Theodore Clapp, of New-Orleans, is said to be an apologist and defender of slavery, the only Unitarian minister in the country who openly takes this ground. Doctors Dewey and Gannett, in advocating obedience to the Fugitive Slave Law, occupied distinct ground, and are not to be classed with those who claim the Divine sanction for slavery, unchristian and reprehensible as their course has been on the subject.

A few words touching the action of the Conventions of Unitarian ministers and laymen, the American Unitarian Association, and the Ministerial Conference, on the subject of slavery, will complete this statement. In the fall of 1850, the Unitarian Convention at Springfield, Mass., attempted to give an expression of Christian sentiment against the Fugitive Slave Law, but the resolutions were opposed by Rev. Dr. Gannett, of Boston, and several laymen, and were lost by the casting vote of the President, the late Rev. Dr. Parkman, so that the Convention was about equally divided. No expression has been given at any subsequent meeting. The plea by which such action has been presented has been, that the Convention was not a representative body, and did not meet to discuss such questions. Its time has generally been occupied on "spiritual" themes. It has met since at Portsmouth, N. H., and at Baltimore, Md., and two similar Conventions have been held in Cincinnati, Ohio, and St. Louis, Mo.

In the spring of 1851, Rev. Samuel J. May, in the Ministerial Conference at Boston, offered a preamble and resolutions of rebuke and censure upon the course of certain prominent Unitarians in giving their support and sanction to the Fugitive Slave Law, which came very near being adopted. Among the persons named in the preamble and resolutions were Ex-President Millard Fillmore, and the Rev. Dr. Dewey, and Rev. Dr. Gannett. This Conference of ministers have established a custom of devoting one day each year to a lecture and discussions on theology, and a lecture and discussions on philanthropy and reform, giving half a day to each subject. Neither the lectures nor the discussions are allowed to be reported, and therefore have no influence on public opinion, nor on the churches. This prohibition of reports was a measure of the conservatives.

The American Unitarian Association takes no action on the subject of slavery or of reform. It publishes tracts and books, supports mission-

aries, and assists feeble societies. It holds a public anniversary meeting every year, at which "theology" and "spiritual interests" are discussed, but is controlled by conservative influences altogether. The present year it has put forth a statement of the Unitarian belief, but no expression of opinion on the great questions of practical reform which engage the attention of Christian men of all denominations at the present time. For these reasons, the anti-slavery and reformatory portion of the Unitarian body is gradually withdrawing its interest and support from these meetings, and the ministers of the reform school take less and less interest in them.

If the whole denomination was represented in these bodies, their action would be decidedly in favor of reform; but they are peaceably and quietly given over to the Conservatives and moneyed men, and those ministers who sympathize with them, to manage in their own way. There is no question that the great body of the Unitarian clergy, and a large portion of the laity scattered over New-England, are strongly imbued with sentiments of reform and progress, and an active hostility to the slave power of this country. But, as in politics, so in religion, the large cities, with their money power and conservative influences, rule the country.

UNIVERSALIST DENOMINATION.

The subject of American slavery was first introduced into this denomination in Maine, in the year 1835; but only to be indefinitely postponed. In Massachusetts, in 1838, the matter was again introduced, with a similar result. In 1842, the Boston Association passed a moderate resolution against slavery as a violation of "the golden rule;" and this, we believe, was the first action taken. In June, 1843, the Massachusetts Convention passed a similar resolution; and from that time the Conventions and Associations, in various parts of the country, have very generally passed resolutions condemnatory of slavery, and in favor of its abolition. In September of this year, the following resolutions, which may be considered the *Anti-slavery* PLATFORM of this denomination, were passed by the General Conference at Akron, Ohio:—

"Resolved, That we rejoice in the knowledge of the truth that the doctrines of Christ have for their end the holiness and happiness of all mankind; and that the faithful inculcation and acceptance of these doctrines must lead to the overthrow and extinction of all institutions, observances, and relations, however ancient or firmly fortified, which are contrary to righteousness, to human well-being, and thus hindrances to the full establishment of the true and glorious kingdom of God on earth.

"Resolved, That, in the light of this truth, we feel constrained to bear testimony against the slavery of the African race now maintained in a portion of our country, as contrary to that gospel which is destined to break every yoke and lead captivity captive; as especially subversive of that golden rule which

teaches us to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us; as contrary to the plainest dictates of natural justice and Christian love, and as every way pernicious alike to the enslaver and the enslaved.

“Resolved. That, regarding the whole human family as in the largest sense our brethren—joint heirs with us of our Father’s love and the immortality of blessedness revealed through our Saviour—we are constrained both by duty and inclination to regard with peculiar sympathy and affection the oppressed, the benighted, the down-trodden of our own and other lands, and to labor for their restoration to the rights and blessings of freedom, light, and truth.”*

In September, 1845, a mass meeting was held in Boston, on the day following the General Convention, and a committee appointed to prepare a “Protest against American Slavery,” to be submitted to the ministers of this denomination for signature. The following spring, that PROTEST was published, signed by 304 ministers. It pronounces slavery wrong—

“1. Because it denies the eternal distinction between a man and property, ranking a human being with a material thing.

“2. Because it does not award to the laborer the fruits of his toil in any higher sense than to the cattle.

“3. Because it trammels the intellectual powers, and prevents their expansion.

“4. Because it checks the development of the moral nature of the slave.

“5. Because it involves a practical denial of the religious nature of the slave.

“6. Because it presents an insurmountable barrier to the propagation of the great truth of Universal Brotherhood, and thereby most effectually prevents the progress of true Christianity.

“7. Because its essential nature cannot be altered by any kindness, how great soever, practised towards the slave.

“8. Because the long continuance of a system of wrong cannot palliate it, but, on the other hand, augments the demand for its abolition.

“9. Because, while we would in all charity remember that peculiarities of situation may affect the judgment and moral sense, still we must not forget that no peculiarity of situation can excuse a perpetual denial of universal principles and obligations.”

Having set forth these things, the PROTEST closed by saying :

“American slavery is a system of wrongs from its first principle to its crowning assumption; and in its train of evils are found all the iniquities that have eaten out the life of communities and nations. It legalizes sins that are abhorrent to the simplest moral sense; and in the increasing intelligence and philanthropy of the present age, it becomes more and more a stigma on our national name, a curse to our country’s prosperity, and a giant moral evil that must be overthrown, or it will overthrow us by the retributive justice of Him who has declared the truth, ‘Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.’

“For these reasons we protest against the system of American slavery, as utterly wrong, and confess our obligation to use all justifiable means to promote its abolition.”

In May, 1846, the “Universalist General Reform Association” was

* We omit for want of room the fourth resolution, recommending that denunciation be avoided, and appealing to Universalists who are slaveholders to consider the nature and tendencies of the system.

formed. The members were pledged to more determined hostility to slavery. In June, 1851, the Massachusetts Convention passed the following resolution:—

Resolved, That we renewedly protest against slavery and the insolent encroachments of the slave power in this country; and especially do we protest against the recent Fugitive Slave Law, believing it a denial of the holiest rights of man and the plainest principles of duty, unworthy a Christian people, entitled to no obedience, and demanding its immediate removal.

Similar action was had in other States.

In June, 1852, the Massachusetts Convention again spoke in the following resolution:—

“Resolved, That we deem it our duty to reaffirm our hostility to American slavery; to assert our conviction that Christian principles are of higher worth than any interests of business or party; of higher worth even than governmental forms; and especially to protest against the growing obsequiousness and acquiescence of many in the free States before the demands of the slave power in this country.”

During the same month, the New-Hampshire Convention said:—

“Resolved, That we deprecate the institution of American slavery, and will not only pray but use our utmost influence for its overthrow.”

At the same time the Quinnebaug Association (Connecticut) passed the following:—

“Resolved, That we observe in the institution of American slavery the *elements of abstract wrong*; and as the advocates of right, as set forth in the doctrine of Jesus—as the professed followers of Christ, we will do all in our power to impress upon the hearts of the people—*‘Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you.’*”

“Resolved, That a Society which cannot sustain itself where the subjects of war, intemperance, and slavery are temperately and Christianly discussed, had better become extinct.”

In August of the same year, the Vermont Convention unanimously

“Resolved, That, in view of recent legislative enactments, and especially in view of the Fugitive Slave Law, we, as believers of the Abrahamic faith, feel it to be our imperative duty ‘to obey God rather than men,’ and peaceably to submit ourselves to suffer the penalty of the law, and thus to ‘submit ourselves to the powers that be.’”

During the past month (June) of the present year, a Report—“indefinitely postponed” at a former session—declaring “slavery to be a great and growing evil, and that the Fugitive Slave Law requires us to do what is wrong in itself, and in violation of our best and holiest feelings,” was “heartily” adopted by the Maine Convention “as a faithful expression of its sentiments.”

We have thus, at considerable length, given the acts of this denomination on this vitally important subject. It must be acknowledged that instead of resisting the light, they have opened their minds to conviction, have embraced anti-slavery truth with readiness, and fearlessly avowed their sentiments. We wish the same could be truly said of some other denominations that make much higher pretensions to orthodoxy in religion, while they pay little regard to orthodoxy in humanity.

GERMAN SEVENTH-DAY BAPTISTS.

This society, as individuals, we learn from one of its leading members, "have uniformly set their faces against every species of oppression; and even have had to enter the courts of justice in the land of Penn to contend for their *religious liberty*;" but "the Church has not taken at any time any special action on the subject of slavery—negro bondage; for every *oppression* they class in the category of slavery." Most individuals and most societies will naturally enough contend earnestly for their own rights and privileges. Why not for the rights and privileges of others? *Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others.* So far from this being an impertinent intermeddling with the affairs of individuals or communities, it is the very spirit of Christianity. *Germans* should not be outdone in this respect by other brethren of kindred faith in this country.* Their attachment to liberty is strong in their native country. It needs their support in the land of their adoption. Henceforth they will, we hope, as societies and communities, as well as individuals, uniformly set their faces against every species of oppression, negro bondage included, and array themselves, religiously and politically, with those who are contending not only for *religious* liberty, but for universal freedom, without distinction of race, complexion, position, or party.

WESLEYAN METHODIST CONNECTION IN AMERICA.

This is the title of the society that was organized at Utica, N. Y., in 1843. At this time the number of members was estimated at 6,000. The census, October last, gave 20,000. It is said that the accessions have been chiefly "from the world." This rapidly-increasing body is in correspondence with, and worthy representatives of, the "Wesleyan Methodist Association" in England. The American branch of the Church has twelve Yearly Conferences, all united in anti-slavery principle, and provoking each other to good works.

* See the excellent Resolutions of the Seventh-Day Baptists, p. 97.

The following is the Report of the Committee on Reforms touching slavery, lately adopted by the Conference at Syracuse, N. Y. :

"Whereas, There yet exists the sin of slavery, with all the magnitude of crime and guilt, unchristianizing this nation in the eyes of the whole civilized world, and crushing from the hearts of millions of our brethren all the hopes and aspirations common to the race, depriving them of all privileges calculated to elevate them to the position of intelligent Christians and citizens, and consequently from the bliss of heaven; therefore,

"Resolved That we hold—as ever—in abhorrence the *system*, esteeming it as ranking first in the dark list of systemized piracy, and all intelligent supporters of the abomination as being nothing, less or more, than will ng pirates.

"Resolved, That to ask us to fraternize with any of the thousand and one organized or unorganized influences, going directly or indirectly to sustain the system, prominent among which are the principal churches and the great political parties of the country, is to offer direct insult to our sense of Christian propriety and gentlemanly courtesy."

We have before us the reports and resolutions adopted by the Conferences of Rochester, N. Y. ; Illinois; Zanesville, Ohio; New-York, and New-England. They are uncompromising, speak similar language, and evidently proceed from the legitimate ecclesiastical descendants of the renowned WESLEY. The Wesleyan Methodists have a college at Leoni, Mich., and are now building another at Wheaton, Ill.

FREE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

"This Church was organized a few years ago, during the sittings of the General Assembly at Cincinnati. It embraces Pre-byterians of both the Old and New School in theology, who agree in the necessity of *separation from slaveholders*. Among the pioneers of this movement is Rev. John Rankin, of Ohio, formerly of Kentucky, who wrote and published in favor of immediate emancipation in 1824 or 1825, before the commencement of Mr. Garrison's labors. In the connection there are about fifty churches and three Presbyteries, extending through portions of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, the whole composing the 'Free Synod of Cincinnati.' " *

INDEPENDENT CHURCHES.

"A large number of *local independent churches* have been gathered by secession from the old churches of several different sects, and holding no ecclesiastical connection with them. This movement is chiefly in the State of New-York, and farther west." †

These churches being, in general, disconnected from all Associations or Consociations, are not embraced in the statistics of Congregationalists, or of any sect, and hence their numbers cannot be stated. They are believed to be numerous and increasing.

* Goodell's History of "Slavery and Anti-slavery," p. 490.

† Ib., p. 489.

HICKSITE FRIENDS.

THAT division of the Society of Friends commonly distinguished as the "Hicksite," at their Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, held the 10th of fifth month, 1852, adopted and circulated an Address, from which we extract the following :

"We are led to address our members at the present time on the subject of our testimony against slavery. We have noticed with deep regret, within a few years past, an increasing disposition on the part of the General Government to strengthen the bonds of slavery in our land, and to punish those who give shelter and protection to persons claimed as slaves, or who decline to aid the officers of the law in returning self-emancipated slaves into bondage. Laws have been passed which we believe are unjust and oppressive in their character, and the doctrine has been openly promulgated, that no man ought to live in a country whose laws he could not conscientiously uphold or obey, and that in these respects the rights of conscience are to be restricted by human legislation.

"We call upon our members carefully to examine the ground on which they stand in relation to our testimony against war and slavery, in these times of agitation, and faithfully to guard against the encroachments of a spirit which, under the plausible pretext of supporting the Constitution and laws of the country, invalidates the rights of conscience, and strikes at the fundamental principle of our religious profession.

"We believe that the light of Christ in the soul is the highest law to man, and the only effectual check to the irregularities of human conduct, and that it is only through obedience to this that the work of progressive reformation can be successfully carried on in the earth.

"Our principles are directly and positively opposed to the institution of slavery as it exists in the United States. Upon this subject we speak as the Society of Friends, and have no new doctrine to offer; nor have we any thing to urge in palliation of it; but, on the other hand, we solemnly think that the degree of intelligence to which our nation has attained, the long prosperity and multiplied blessings it has enjoyed, and the strength to which it has grown among the families of the earth, calls loudly upon it to give a substantial proof of its gratitude by showing kindness and mercy to the poor—by acts of humanity towards an oppressed people, who, however humble may be their position in human society, are, nevertheless, a part of the great family of the One Eternal Being whose goodness has been so bountifully vouchsafed to us, whose protection we are so frequent to invoke, and who remains to be God over all, blessed for ever."

"Let none suppose that our religious organization limits the field of active benevolence, or retards any work of moral improvement. If we are faithful to our mission, we must rejoice in the promotion of every good word and work. If we fail to do this, it must be ascribed to unfaithfulness, rather than unsoundness of principle. If we lived up to the spirit of our excellent Discipline, we should not hear it spoken of as a barrier to our religious progress."

We are informed by the Friend who forwards us this timely Address, that it is the only paper on the subject of slavery which the Society has issued since 1832. He adds :

"This subject is frequently discussed in our meetings, and is thus kept active in the Society, and yet it is evident that there is more apathy among us than ought to exist in a religious society on a subject so fraught with all that is evil as is American slavery."

GERMAN BAPTIST BRETHREN.

This denomination migrated from Germany, and are distinguished from the other American Baptist denominations by the term "brethren," derived from Matt. xxiii. 8. Believing that slavery is "repugnant to the doctrine and principles of the gospel," they accordingly "hold no slaves nor hire any," and they consider it their "conscientious duty to declare with meekness their sentiments" on this subject. They find that their "testimony has a salutary effect upon a great number of slaveholders." Yet since (as they conceive) the Constitution of the United States guarantees the right of slaveholding, and the right to reclaim fugitives, and since (as they also conceive) the Compromise Bill of 1850 is in accordance with the Constitution, they "feel themselves bound, in good faith, to submit to the requisitions of the law, and exhort all others to do so. (See Romans xiii. 1, 5, &c.)" They "deeply sympathize with the colored population;" desire to coöperate in wise measures for "mitigating their condition." They make it a subject of prayer, rely upon divine Providence, and trust that the day of "redemption is at hand."

While it is pleasing to learn, from authentic sources of information, that there are bodies of Southern Christians who are opposed to slavery, and will neither hold nor hire slaves, thus showing what other religious bodies might do, if they pleased, it is instructive to notice how much such Southern Christians need further light, and how important it is for Christian Abolitionists at the North to keep up a friendly intercourse with them. The above statements come from Maryland.

THE JEWS.

The Jews of the United States have never taken any steps whatever with regard to the Slavery question. As citizens, they deem it their policy "to have every one choose which ever side he may deem best to promote his own interests and the welfare of his country." They have no organization of an ecclesiastical body to represent their general views; no General Assembly, or its equivalent. The American Jews have two newspapers, but they do not interfere in any discussion which is not material to their religion. It cannot be said that the Jews have formed any denominational opinion on the subject of American slavery. Some of the Jews, who reside in slave States, have refused to have any right of property in man, or even to have any slaves about them. They do not believe that any thing analogous to slavery, as it exists in this country, ever prevailed among the ancient Israelites. But they profess to believe that "the belief of Abraham, enlarged by Moses, and now acknowledged by the Jews, is one of purity and morality, and one which presents the strongest possible supports for civil society, *especially a government based upon principles of equality and liberty of the per-*

son! They believe that the coming of the King Messiah will be the signal for universal peace, UNIVERSAL FREEDOM, universal knowledge, and universal worship of the One Eternal."

The objects of so much mean prejudice and unrighteous oppression as the Jews have been for ages, surely they, it would seem, more than any other denomination, ought to be the enemies of CASTE, and the friends of UNIVERSAL FREEDOM.

THE VOLUNTARY RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES.

From the ecclesiastical bodies, properly so called, we proceed next to some of the principal voluntary religious and benevolent Associations sustained by them.

AMERICAN BOARD.

The AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS is one of the most influential and popular religious bodies in this country. Citizens of different ecclesiastical and political parties belong to the Board; the corporate and honorary members are numerous, and many of them influential; the churches, especially the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Dutch Reformed, liberally aid its funds; the missionaries sent abroad are numerous and in almost every part of the world, and the prayers of millions ascend for its prosperity. Without questioning that the Board has done great good, its *quasi* support of slavery has been, for many years, a subject of deep regret and mortification to no inconsiderable portion of the Christian people of this country, and to not a few of its missionaries. Remonstrances have been sent to the Prudential Committee, and to the Board, time and again, by anti-slavery members and missionaries, sometimes with apparent effect for a season; but in spite of all, we do not perceive that any permanent change has taken place in the policy of the Committee or Board. This Board has engrossed the affections of the churches more extensively than any other religious organization in this country, and by its great influence upon the churches and the national Societies that have sprung into existence since its formation, has done more, probably, than any other organization, to paralyze efforts for emancipation, and strengthen American slavery. Mission Boards, as has been truly said by an able speaker at the West, which plant and aid slaveholding churches, from the peculiarity of their functions and organization, lend a more effectual support to slavery than the slaveholding churches themselves can do.*

A pamphlet has been published and widely circulated by this Com-

* President Blanchard's Address at the formation of the North-western Home Missionary Society, July 7, 1852.

mittee on the subject, entitled "Indian Missions," from which we extract as follows:*

Mr. Treat reported in 1848, that there was a statute of the Cherokee Nation which debar alike the free negro and the slave from all direct access to "the lively oracles." It is as follows: "*Be it enacted by the National Council*, That from and after the passage of this act, it shall not be lawful for any person or persons whatever to teach any free negro or negroes not of Cherokee blood, or any slave belonging to any citizen or citizens of the Nation, to read or write." The penalty annexed to a violation of this enactment is a fine of \$100 to \$500, at the discretion of the Court trying the offense. Mr. Treat remarks: "This law is the more to be regretted, as it must needs embarrass the mission in its efforts to benefit this injured and neglected portion of the community."

No free negro or mulatto, not of Cherokee blood, may hold or own any *improvement* in the Nation. Slaves are prohibited from owning horses, cattle, hogs or firearms. "Patrol companies may take up and bring to punishment any negro not having a legal pass that [who] may be strolling about away from the premises of his master; and any negro not entitled to Cherokee privileges, who may be found carrying guns, butcher-knives, &c., is liable to the summary infliction, by the patrol companies, of forty stripes save one." . . .

So long ago as October, 1836, the following law was passed by the Choctaw tribe:

"*Be it enacted, &c.*, That from and after the passage of this act, if any citizen of the United States, acting as a missionary or a preacher, or whatever his occupation may be, is found to take an active part in favoring the principles and notions of the most fatal and destructive doctrines of Abolitionism, he shall be compelled to leave the Nation and for ever stay out of it.

"*Be it further enacted, &c.*, That teaching slaves how to read, to write, or to sing in meeting-houses or schools, or in any open place, without the consent of the owner, or allowing them to sit at table with him, shall be sufficient ground to convict persons of favoring the principles and notions of Abolitionism." . . .

It was provided also, that no slave should "be in possession of any property or arms;" that if any slave infringed any Choctaw rights, he should "be driven out of company, to behave himself;" and in case of his return and further intrusion, "he should receive ten lashes." Four years later it was enacted that all free negroes in the Nation, unconnected with the Choctaw or Chickasaw blood, "should leave the Nation by the first of March, 1841," and "for ever keep out of it." In case of their infringing this law, "they were to be seized and sold to the highest bidder for life." It was also enacted, that if any citizen of the Nation hired, concealed, or in any way protected any free negro, to evade the foregoing provision, he should forfeit from \$250 to \$500, or, if unable to pay this fine, "receive fifty lashes on his bare back."

In 1846 a law was passed, which prohibited all negroes, whether they had "papers" or not, from entering and remaining in the Choctaw Nation. The offenders were to receive "not less than one hundred lashes on the bare back," besides a forfeiture of all property found in their possession, one third "to go to the light horsemen" who apprehended them, and two thirds "to be applied to some beneficial purpose."

The most objectionable enactment which Mr. Treat found, having any bearing upon slavery, was approved October 15, 1846. It is as follows:

"*Be it enacted, &c.*, That no negro slave can be emancipated in this Nation, except by application or petition of the owner to the General Council; and

* The Board, as is known to our American readers, have missions among the Choctaw and Cherokee tribes of Indians on this continent, many of whom hold negro slaves. Churches have been gathered among them, into which masters and slaves have been admitted. The missionaries of the Board have not been instructed to refuse admittance to slaveholders; consequently, some of the most influential of the church members are persons of that description. At the same time, some of them are members of the National Council, and some are judges.

provided also, that it shall be made to appear to the Council the owner or owners, at the time of application, shall have no debt or debts outstanding against him or her, either in or out of this Nation. Then, and in that case, the General Council shall have the power to pass an act for the owner to emancipate his or her slave, which negro, after being freed, shall leave this Nation within thirty days after the passage of the act. And in case said free negro or negroes shall return into this Nation afterwards, he, she, or they shall be subject to be taken by the light horsemen and exposed to public sale for the term of five years; and the funds arising from such sale shall be used as national funds."

"The predominant influence in both nations," says Mr. Treat, "is in the hands of slaveholders." It is so, he might have added, in the mission churches. But he goes on to observe, "THE MASS OF THE PEOPLE HAVE NO DIRECT INTEREST IN SLAVERY."

The Christian world will be astonished, we think, when they come to know that "Christian" men, capable of enacting such atrocious laws, are represented by the most influential Missionary Board in this country as being "followers of the Lord Jesus Christ," and as ensamples to the white Christians of the United States.

AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

This large and influential body is constituted, as is the A. B. C. F. M., of leading ministers and laymen of various denominations and political parties. It confines its attention to this country, and has been instrumental of doing great good. It is said to have fifty-one missionaries who are pastors of churches in slave States, into many of which slaveholders are freely admitted, and fellowshipped as Christians in good and regular standing. Much dissatisfaction has arisen in consequence of it. At the meeting of the CONGREGATIONAL CONVENTION at Albany, composed of lay and clerical delegates from a large portion of the orthodox Congregational churches in the country, in October last, the following resolution, with especial reference to the A. H. M. S., was passed :

"*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this Convention, it is the tendency of the gospel, wherever it is preached in its purity, to correct all social evils and to destroy sin in all its forms—and that it is the duty of Missionary Societies to grant aid to churches in slaveholding States, in support of such ministers only as shall preach the gospel and inculcate the principles and the application of gospel discipline—that, with the blessing of God, it shall have its full effect in awakening and enlightening the moral sense in regard to slavery, and in bringing to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong—and that wherever a minister is not permitted so to preach, he should, in accordance with the directions of Christ in such cases, 'depart out of that city.'"

It was supposed by many, that the unanimity with which the resolution was adopted would produce a change in the policy of the Executive Committee of the A. H. M. S., but they have been disappointed. In the March number of their periodical, they defined their position. This article seemed, at first, to have an unhappy effect upon several anti-slavery Christians, who thought they discerned a disposition on the part of the Committee to comply with the obvious expectations of the Albany Convention. To disabuse them of this premature belief, this Committee issued a pamphlet entitled, "The American Home Missionary Society and

Slavery," being the identical title of the article referred to. From this pamphlet we have room only for the following extracts :

The Secretaries, in defining and justifying their past and present position, virtually admit the facts; and while they may appear to some to say that they concur in the principles of the Albany Convention, and that they will make an honest endeavor to carry them out with all fidelity, they do, in fact, only aver that they will do this so far as the resolution corresponds with the former position and policy of the Society, and the sentiments expressed by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church.

The Secretaries, after stating what the Society and its missionaries in slave States actually do, mention the things they do not attempt:

"1. It does not, as some would have it, wholly withdraw from the slave States." Who "would have" them do this? Not Anti-slavery Christians, surely. They "would have" the number of missionaries there greatly increased, and have them instructed to remain there and preach the gospel—the whole gospel—and exercise gospel discipline; and, if persecuted in one city, then, and not till then, "flee into another." Verily, they will not have gone over the cities of [this American] Israel, till the Son of Man be come, to bless their labors, and give them a name and place in the land.

"2. It does not, as some advise, make the exclusion of slaveholders from communion a condition of missionary aid." There's the rub. That is the ground of dissatisfaction. It was so before the Albany Convention, and is so still. The Society did not then exclude slaveholders; it has not since; and it avows its determination not to do so hereafter. The Secretaries imply that their reason for not doing it is, that it would "interfere with the right of churches to define their own terms of membership." We are too strict Congregationalists not to recognize the independent right of churches in this matter; and we are too well informed in relation to missionaries' efforts not to know that a Missionary Society *can refuse affording aid to churches that will admit offenders to their communion*. This they can and ought to do in relation to slavery as well as other offenses; and the plea made by some Societies, that such action would infringe upon congregational rights of churches, is, we are sorry to say, a stale pretext.

The Secretaries next cite the resolution adopted at Albany, and, in allusion to it and the resolution of the General Assembly, say: "After *such expressions of concurrent views* of the principles and policy appertaining to this difficult and painful subject, [why difficult and painful?] may not the Society, in an honest endeavor to carry them out with all fidelity, count upon the confidence and co-operation of all true friends of freedom and humanity?" We have stated the reasons why, in our judgment, the "true friends of freedom and humanity" should be dissatisfied with the action of the American Home Missionary Society. It does not concur in the principles expressed by the Albany Convention. It does not propose to furnish aid "in the support of such ministers only" as shall make an "application of gospel discipline" to slavery, to bring "to pass the speedy abolition of that stupendous wrong." It does not propose to make any advance from its past position. It stands, in relation to this subject, where the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church did in 1850, where the Society itself did in 1849 and in 1845, and avows its purpose to continue there. Further remonstrance is, therefore, needed. The friends of the slave should not now slack their hands, nor do any thing to indicate their approval of the present policy of the American Home Missionary Society. There are, we acknowledge, many that take no interest in the welfare of the slave, who will be ready enough to declare their satisfaction with its present position. Let no Christian Abolitionist be among the number.

AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

This is another of the national Societies, sustained by the funds and efforts of a large constituency, and circulating its immense issues of tracts

and books, by colporteurs and others, throughout the whole country; a Society that is doing much good, and might do a vast deal more, if its policy did not exclude from its publications every sentiment against the gigantic sin of American slavery. This Committee, early in the spring, published in the *Tribune*, and subsequently a large edition in pamphlet form, a letter written by one of their members to Rev. R. S. Cook, one of the Secretaries of the American Tract Society, on the course taken by the Society with reference to the Slavery question. This letter has been republished in London, in a pamphlet, entitled "The American Tract Society; withdrawal from by the Hon. Judge Jay, on the ground of its alliance with the slave power; proved by the expurgation of all anti-slavery sentiment from its publications, and its refusal to bear any testimony and opposition to the sin of slaveholding."

The author animadverted upon the defensive letter of Mr. Cook to the ministers and elders of the Congregational Union of Fox River, Illinois, who had remonstrated with the Tract Society on the pro-slavery course it has pursued. He shows that the Society has often departed from the rule, said to have been laid down, of printing only such tracts as would receive the approbation of *all evangelical* Christians. It has issued numerous tracts against dancing, travelling on the Lord's day, and the traffic in intoxicating drinks—matters on which all evangelical professors are not agreed, either in opinion or practice—while, in the twenty-seven years of its existence, the Society has never published a line intended to touch the conscience of an American slave-breeder or trader. We have room only for the following extracts from this seasonable and powerful letter:

Your Committee tell us, in their last Report, that they "have never lost sight of their responsibilities to those of tender years;" and it seems they issue *The Child's Paper*, of which great numbers are circulated. Yet the responsibilities to children resting on the Committee permit them to expunge an expression likely to remind us that there are hundreds of thousands of children in our land who are mere articles of merchandise. These very responsibilities are, it seems, perfectly compatible with entire silence respecting the ignorance and degradation of this great multitude "of tender years." The Committee know that in some of our States even a free mother, if her complexion be dark, is by law liable to be scourged on her bare back, should she be caught teaching her little ones to read your *Child's Paper*; yet not a word of remonstrance escapes the American Tract Society! In the very last number of *The Child's Paper*, I read that "there are between 10,000 and 12,000 children in the city of New-York who never enter a church or school, and who cannot read the Bible. . . Here are heathen at home; what is doing for them? . . . These children must be cared for." Indeed! And is it nothing to your Society that there are in our country about HALF A MILLION of little black heathen who are prevented by law from reading the Bible? These little heathen have souls as imperishable, destinies as momentous, as the white heathen in New-York. Must this half million be cared for? Ah! that is a "point of disagreement among evangelical Christians," and hence the Society must not even recognize the existence of children who do not belong to their parents. . . .

I thank my God and Heavenly Father that he has given me grace to embrace, with my whole heart and understanding, the doctrines you denominate evangelical. But it behooves us all to remember that a workless faith is a worthless

faith. Can we refuse obedience to the second of the two great commandments on which hang the law and the prophets, and yet hope to be saved by our orthodox faith?

You will perhaps say that it is better our Southern brethren should be saved as slaveholders, breeders, and traders, than not at all, and therefore you will not touch the subject of slavery, because, if you do, you cannot reach them with your tracts, which, under God, might lead to their conversion and salvation. If this principle be correct, it is of wide application. The Territory of Utah is acquiring a large population, and will soon claim admission into the Union. The people are polygamists, but it is better they should be saved as such than not at all. Hence it becomes the duty of the Society, for fear of offending them, to avoid all allusion to the Christian doctrine of marriage, and to "move forward on the simple errand that brought the Saviour into the world, proclaiming Christ and him crucified," and thus rendering the tracts acceptable and useful to our Mormon brethren! So, also, as the usefulness of the minister of Christ depends on his message being heard, he ought to preach smooth things, lest, by offending his people, by telling them unwelcome truths, he drive them beyond the sound of the gospel!

AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY.

The feelings of the Managers of this great institution in hostility to the Anti-slavery cause have been exhibited, we regret to say, on various occasions. Without recurring to facts that occurred in former years, it was manifested a year or two since, in the appointment of Rev. Mr. Stiles to be one of the Secretaries—a Southerner by birth and associations—soon after his speech in the General Assembly, (N. S.,) in which he uttered extravagant pro-slavery sentiments; and recently, by commissioning a virulent opposer of the Anti-slavery movement to represent the Society in London. The following extract from the Boston *Congregationalist* will show the feeling existing in New-England with reference to these appointments:—

INJUDICIOUS.—We hear it said that the American Bible Society has made choice of the Rev. Samuel Irenæus Prime to represent it at the approaching English Christian festivities. If this be true, we deeply regret it. . . . But for him as the author—in his capacity as junior editor of the New-York *Observer*—of the unchristian, undignified, and abusive articles in reference to Mrs. Stowe, Rev. H. W. Beecher, and the whole Northern sentiment concerning "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and its bearing upon slavery, which have disgraced the columns of that journal during the past year, we have a feeling of mingled sorrow and disgust, which leads us, in common with a very large number of New-England Christians, to desire that he should be no representative of ours, at home or beyond sea. As friends of the Bible Society, we regret that some brother in general sympathy with the whole Church could not have been sent to represent us before our English brethren. We do not ask that any prominent Anti-slavery clergyman should be selected, but simply that some brother might go to speak for us there who has not so extensively and perseveringly wounded the conscience of New-England, and virtually put his shoulder to the wheel of the halting Juggernaut of American Slavery.

It is understood that Mr. Prime, on arriving in London, received intimations that the presentation of his commission would not be acceptable. He did not publicly appear.

AMERICAN AND FOREIGN CHRISTIAN UNION.

In this connection we cannot refrain from adverting to the spirited resolutions adopted on the 10th May by the above-named Society, which, amidst its arduous and enterprising efforts to restrain and subvert what it deems the spiritual despotism of this country and Europe, has not considered it within the province of its duty to combat, or encourage others to do so, the despotism over body and mind that prevails in these States. It is therefore peculiarly gratifying to find that in the resolutions adopted at their anniversary, this popular Society has asserted in strong and unambiguous language the doctrine of the "Higher Law," which so many lay and clerical persons have, within a year or two past, sneered at with unbecoming inconsideracy. These seasonable and eloquent resolutions, we perceive, were introduced by the astute and adroit Dr. Leonard Bacon, and warmly seconded by the erudite and liberty-loving Ex-Chief Justice Hornblower.* If, as we have understood, they were adopted unanimously, we may well congratulate ourselves and the country that, at last, the De Witts, Alexanders, Bethunes, Bairds, Frelinghuysens, Plumers, Springs, and Tyngs of this age are making progress in a moral reform, if not in an anti-slavery direction. But we will not longer indulge in remarks on the subject, but present the resolutions themselves, with the single observation that the significant and important passages will require no italicising to enable the attentive reader to comprehend readily and fully their drift:—

"Resolved, That, in all cases, the intervention of secular authority and physical force to forbid the reading of the Holy Scriptures, the peaceful utterance and profession of religious faith, the private or public worship of God without disturbance of the public peace, or the preaching of the gospel to such as are willing to hear it, is an intervention between conscience and the only Lord of conscience, and is therefore a violation of universal and inalienable rights.

"Resolved, That, inasmuch as our right to preach the gospel wherever men will hear it springs directly from the authority of the Blessed and Only Potentate, whose commission to his disciples sends them into all the world to preach the gospel to every creature; and inasmuch as this right is therefore higher than all human laws and compacts, the prohibitions and penalties by which oppressive governments forbid the profession and the preaching of the gospel, cannot impair this right in the judgment of conscience, or in the sight of God; and that the power which enforces such laws is to be respected only as we respect the armed robber who takes away our goods.

"Resolved, That, to give full effect to the remonstrances of Protestant Christians, and of the so-called Protestant Governments, against the infringements of the rights of conscience by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and by other Roman Catholic Governments, it is necessary that the parties remonstrating be themselves without blame in respect to the sacredness of religious liberty; and that the present position of many so-called Protestant Governments in Europe, and of

* It does not appear from the proceedings of the meeting, published in the Annual Report of the Society, that the resolutions were adopted; but they doubtless were, as has been stated in the newspapers, and as Dr. Bacon's "able speech" is alluded to, and promised in the next number of the Society's magazine.

Protestant State Churches there, towards Roman Catholic subjects, and towards Protestants dissenting from the Churches established by law, is not only disgraceful to them in the eye of all intelligent friends of liberty, but disastrous to that gospel which they dishonor by their profession of it.

“Resolved, That the American and Foreign Christian Union rejoices in the many indications that the time has come when all the forms of organized injustice throughout the civilized world must defend themselves before the public sentiment of Christendom; when whatever cannot be shown to be consistent with the common Christian sense of what is required by the teachings and the spirit of Christ, must be condemned to infamy; and that, while we freely acknowledge the responsibility of America, and of all American institutions, to that high tribunal, we will not cease to arraign and prosecute before the same tribunal all those interventions of Governments against liberty of faith and worship which are and have been the greatest obstacles to the progress of the gospel in the nominally Christian world.”

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

This popular and increasing Anti-slavery Missionary Society, founded chiefly by the officers and members of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held its annual meeting at Bangor, Me., September 29th, 1852. It reported 11 churches, and 65 male and female missionaries and teachers in foreign countries, and 31 churches and 68 male and female missionaries and teachers in the free and slave States, Canada, and among the Indians—in all 133 persons, *inculcating an anti-slavery gospel, and having no fellowship with slaveholders.* The income of the Association was \$30,726 29, for the past year.

An anti-slavery discourse of great merit was preached by Rev. Joseph R. Walker, of Ohio, from these words: *“If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?”*

The following were among the resolutions passed:

Resolved, That to oppose sin in one set of relations while we do not in another—for example, to oppose intemperance while we do not oppose slavery, or to pray against oppression while we vote for it—is to strike down Christian principle, to deaden conscience, and, in the end, to undermine and destroy Christian character.

Resolved, That Christians should labor and pray earnestly, and give liberally, not only for the cause of free missions in heathen lands, but also to build up and sustain evangelical churches in the destitute portions of our own country that will exclude slaveholders from their fellowship, and in all other ways practically honor the gospel.

Resolved, That on the prevalence of sound anti-slavery sentiment in the nation depends, under God, the success of the Christian enterprise in which we are engaged.

NORTH-WESTERN HOME MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION.

A call for a Convention to form a Free Mission organization for the North-west was issued at Chicago, Ill., September 4th, 1851. Accordingly, a general meeting of “the friends of free missions, and the opposers of slaveholding fellowship in the North-west,” to perfect the organization,

and "to take further action in relation to the Anti-slavery cause, and the purification of the Church from the abomination of slavery," assembled at Chicago, July 7th and 8th, 1852, and there formed the new Society. The constitution is similar to that of the American Missionary Association, except that the labors of the new Society will be confined to the diffusion of an anti-slavery gospel in our own land.

BAPTIST FREE MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The distinctive principles of this Society are non-fellowship with slaveholders, and rejection of the avails of slavery offered for religious purposes. It held its ninth annual meeting at Montrose, Pa., June 2d, 1852. Two churches have been formed in connection with its Haytien mission. The mission appears to be in a prosperous condition. It has four separate preaching-places, with one American and one Haytien preacher, three American female assistants, and two unordained native helpers. The converted Haytiens have organized a Missionary Society, and resolved to support a native preacher at St. Marc. The Society contemplate a mission in Africa; and a native African, converted in connection with their Haytien mission, is expected to be attached to it. He is now at their seminary in McGrawville, N. Y. The Society conducts other missions, both in this country and in Canada. Mr. Judd, of the Haytien mission, has been in this country during the past year, soliciting funds for building a chapel at Port-au-Prince, and felt much encouraged with the prospects of the mission.

AMERICAN FOREIGN MISSIONARIES.

The Committee have been greatly cheered by letters from several missionaries in foreign countries, who went out to their fields of labor under the auspices of Boards having no affinity to the Anti-slavery cause. From these letters we make several extracts; and first from letters from Rev. D. Baldwin, Lahaina, Sandwich Islands:

"The last Monday of every month we continue to observe as the day to pray for the end of slavery. . . . Slavery appears to this half-enlightened people an anomalous evil, a cruel prodigy, and a deep and reproachful stain on the otherwise fair character of our country, which can neither be excused nor explained away. There is no evil for the extermination of which the Christian people here pray more sincerely. In one of these concerts, one of our most intelligent natives said to me, 'Then it is true that some parts of your country raise boys and girls to sell, as we do pigs?' I replied that so I understood it. He said, 'We have had cruel oppression enough here, but never any thing like that, even in our darkest heathen days.' . . . There are many of our people in these islands, in the mission and out of it, who feel a deep interest in the subject of American slavery, and who hail with joy every proof that correct views of human rights are gaining ground. . . . In my last letter I suggested your offering a premium for a tract on some important anti-slavery topic. Afterwards I mentioned in one of our native meetings what I had written to you, and asked the church if they

would furnish a hundred dollars for such a purpose. Several raised both hands, and said, 'Only tell us when you wish it, and it will come.' *

"Mr. Green and some other missionaries are full-souled in the cause, and will be until the last shackle is off. . . . You must be rejoiced at the wonderful run Uncle Tom's Cabin has had. I trust Mrs. Stowe will not lay that pen down quite yet. We want facts and arguments that no man of sense will ever attempt to answer, and such facts and arguments can be found against slavery.†

"Your Society, which has for its aim to enlighten public sentiment and bring it to the Christian standard on the subject of human rights; to bring man-selling, man-stealing, man-owning, and man-degrading to an end, the world over, I put second to no other Society in its claims on the contributions and prayers of all who love the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . Almost all our ship-captains are pro-slavery. . . . I take the *National Era*, the *Independent*, and the *New-York Evangelist*. For ten or twelve years I took the weekly paper from the office of the *Journal of Commerce*, and read all the apologies for slavery and the South the editor put into it. . . . Are not good signs multiplying, and this through just such discussions as had 'put back emancipation fifty years?' . . .

"I send you a draft, \$75 50 of it collected in our anti-slavery concerts of prayer; \$61 12, a donation from females of the Lahaina church; and \$23 from a lawyer and a minister here. One hundred dollars of it is for the premium for a tract on account of the Lahaina church, and the balance towards another premium tract on some anti-slavery topic. . . . Would not an effective tract, embodying in a perspicuous form the inevitable consequences of slavery on both races, written in great kindness and with the force of truth, adapted to secure the attention of thinking and patriotic men at the South, aid in changing their wrong views of the nation? After being twenty-two years from the United States, and at such a distance, I cannot pretend to know what the public mind most requires. . . .

"I cannot but think it a high and sacred duty of all the Directors of the Benevolent Societies to mingle with the Anti-slavery Society, and use their exertions to stir up Christians to action and prayer in such a cause. . . . Surely none of them will deem a cause beneath their notice or efforts which commanded the mightiest exertions of such men as Wilberforce. . . . I have, within a short time, made myself a life member of the Tract Society; and if they expended all I gave them in a tract which would show Southerners what a burning curse slavery always has been and always must be, to masters as well as slaves, nothing would please me more. . . . After all, is the difficulty so much in the officers of the Tract and other Societies, as it is in the mass of professing Christians who make up those Societies?

"Have we not all been trained to wrong opinions; to believe that black men are scarcely men at all—that it is out of the way for them to talk of human rights—that the Constitution does not apply to them, except when they run away from slavery—that, being an inferior order of beings, they are only fit for slaves, predicted to be servants, and that perhaps he who holds them in bondage is carrying out the will of God? . . . I have never seen a railroad, but I am told there are many in our land, and that when the train is coming, it is not safe to stand on the track. One foolhardy enough to stand there, seems to me a fit emblem with which to compare one who in these days advocates or apologizes for slavery, or who is indifferent to the subject. I hope the time is not distant when such indifference will not be found in the churches or in the ministry; or

* The Committee have proposed \$100 for the best essay on the following subject: AMERICAN SLAVERY A FORMIDABLE OBSTACLE TO THE CONVERSION OF THE WORLD. Hon. William Jay, Rev. G. W. Perkins and Rev. Dr. Pennington have consented to act in examining and adjudicating the prize. The tract must not exceed 24 pp. 12mo, leaded. The articles should be sent to Lewis Tappan, Corresponding Secretary, as early as the 1st August, 1853.

† The wishes of this brother have been satisfactorily fulfilled in the compilation and publication of the "Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin," the argument of which may be refuted when Euclid is proved to be a sophist.

if found, will be thought as fatal to the Christian reputation as the train of cars to him who stands in their way."

We have made such copious extracts because it is interesting to see the effect produced on a Christian philanthropist in a far-distant country, after an absence of nearly a quarter of a century from his native land, by contrasting the anti-slavery truth that has been published to the world, and the *fog* that had previously enveloped him, and which still encircles multitudes who remain among us. It is also a remarkable fact that the heathen converted through the instrumentality of American missionaries are amazed at the conduct of those who have sent these missionaries to them, and desire to repay the country that has so greatly benefited them, by aiding in delivering it from a heathenism so dark as American slavery.

The following extracts are from letters from another missionary, who has passed the last twenty-five years at the Sandwich Islands—Rev. Jonathan S. Green, of Makawao :

"I feel the deepest interest in the movements of your Society, and I doubt not that God and holy beings on earth and in heaven do so too. And if this be so, you have little need to be concerned whether the great ones of this world afford you their sympathy or not. You need not be particularly anxious to prove that you are engaged in a cause which would have had the sympathy and coöperation of Jefferson, and Jay, and Washington, had those noble-minded men lived to this day. . . . If God be for us, who can be against us? That he is for you, is as true as that he has a throne in the heavens. The revelation which he has made in the Bible, his dealings with despots and oppressors in every age, shows this in the clearest light. . . . As God is true, you will find that you have not labored in vain."

Such sentiments do honor to the ministry. We could, did space permit, make additional extracts from letters from missionaries, abroad and in this country, of similar import. And it is a pleasing fact that so many ministers of the gospel, of various denominations, are taking an open and decided stand on the right side of the Anti-slavery question. That many of the clergy do not, but affect to be neutral, or are openly opposed, we lament to say is too true. Still we have no sympathy with men professing to be thorough Abolitionists, who assail the Christian ministry because so many among them disgrace their profession or impugn the Scripture, in deducing from it the justification of slavery. The Bible is true, Christianity worthy of acceptance, and the ministry of reconciliation worthy of honor and respect, albeit so many preachers explain His holy volume as the charter of oppression, or stand aloof from the Anti-slavery cause. There can be no rational expectation of success in this cause, in any other way than by employing Christian means in a Christian spirit, relying upon the Divine promise and the aid of the Almighty.

At the same time, we candidly acknowledge that it is our firm belief that those preachers and those editors of religious publications who denounce the anti-slavery movement, assail the true-hearted Abolitionists of the

land, defend or apologize for American slavery and slaveholding, and attempt to bring to the support of their views the Scriptures, are doing immense injury to the cause of Christ; that they are misleading more minds, and driving men faster into infidelity, than ten times the number of secret or open enemies of Christianity in the country.

To enable our readers to see how the course pursued by pro-slavery religious newspapers strikes the minds of men who make no pretenses to evangelical religion, we quote the following paragraph from an influential secular press in this city :*

"The *Tribune* is sometimes accused—we think unjustly—of promoting infidelity. We have allowed free speech and fair play to infidels, without intending to favor their views. But there are those who profess to be the especial guardians and teachers of religion, who are doing much to make and multiply infidels. We allude to those professedly religious people who quote the Bible in defense or palliation of slavery—such, for example, as the editors of papers like the *New-York Observer*. . . . Infidelity has no more efficient promoter on earth than the man who, professing Christianity, cites the Bible to excuse or palliate iniquity. And we regard a newspaper which professes to inculcate the religion of Christ, whose teaching was, 'Whatsoever ye would that others should do to you, do ye also unto them,' and at the same time defend African slavery as it exists among us, as an engine for the spread of infidelity, a thousand times more potent than any merely secular or professedly infidel journal would be. We look upon a man who professes to be a disciple of Jesus Christ, and who fails to rebuke or condemn such wrongs and evils as are involved in the perpetuation of slavery, as one who says 'Lord, Lord!' but does the opposite of what Christ commanded. We never take a professedly religious sheet into our hands and find it extenuating the evil of slavery, that it does not excite in us an inexpressible loathing. If infidelity is spreading to-day in this nation, it is more, a thousand times more, owing to the preaching of a Christianity which defends such iniquities as slavery and slaveholding, than to every other agency combined. Talk not to us of the infidelity preached by newspapers, while such corrupting fountains pour their poisonous waters through a thousand *professedly* Christian channels."†

AMERICAN REFORM TRACT AND BOOK SOCIETY.

THIS Society was formed by a number of Christians of different evangelical denominations, assembled at Cincinnati, Ohio, December, 1851, to supply our own population, immigrants, those who speak the German and Spanish languages, and others, with cheap and useful publications, especially on subjects which other Tract Societies overlook. It is well known that the American Tract Society refuses to print any thing on the sinfulness of American slavery. A new Society, therefore, seemed absolutely necessary "to prevent slavery from possessing our new Territories,"

* *New-York Daily Tribune*.

† REVERENTIAL.—The *New-York Observer* quotes, approvingly, a saying of the *New-York Courier and Enquirer*, that "a man of any religious creed who speaks irreverently of the clergy of every other denomination, is guilty of nothing more nor less than downright licentiousness." The clergy of every denomination are worthy of respect when they *preach the truth and practise it*; when they do not, they discredit their calling, and deserve no respect. We wish these papers had more reverence for merit, and less for persons.—*National Era*.

and to supply a deficiency with regard to the whole people of the United States.

At the last meeting of the American Missionary Association, the following resolution was adopted :

Resolved, That as the "American Reform Tract and Book Society" covers a large and important field, upon which other Societies have refused to enter, we view it as an instrumentality well adapted to the propagation of a pure Christianity, to the abolition of all the strongholds of vice and wrong, and to the elevation of all classes of human beings; and that we welcome this institution as a valuable aid to free missions, cordially recommending it to the liberal patronage of all who desire the conversion and salvation of the world.

The Society has published Tract No. 1, *Separation from Sin and Sinners*. pp. 24. — No. 2, *Hebrew Servitude and American Slavery*. pp. 8. — No. 3, *On Slavery*.* [Premium Tract.] pp. 24. Price, 1500 pages, \$1. We earnestly commend this new Society to public patronage. It needs funds and the active coöperation of all who believe that a *Reform Tract and Book Society* is greatly needed.

UNION CHRISTIAN CONVENTIONS.

A Christian Convention assembled at Ravenna, O., June 2, 1852, which was attended by some of the most distinguished friends of the Anti-slavery cause. Discussions took place, and some startling facts were elicited of the subserviency of some of the religious denominations to slavery. Evidence was given of the alterations that had been made in hymns by religious bodies to suit the pro-slavery spirit existing in the community. During the session, the following resolutions, among others, were adopted :

Resolved, That slaveholding is, under all circumstances, a heinous sin against God, and a gross violation of the most sacred rights of human nature."

Resolved, That a Church which receives slaveholders, and those who justify slaveholding, to her communion, is false to the mission of a true Church of Christ.

Resolved, That those ecclesiastical bodies which persist, against remonstrance and petitions to the contrary, in receiving slaveholders, and retaining them in their communion, do not represent the religion of the Bible, and should no longer be recognized in any manner as branches of the Christian Church. And we earnestly exhort all Christians and local organizations connected with them to dissolve their connection with those who remain in ecclesiastical bodies fellowshiping slaveholders, after light has been diffused and remonstrance tried in vain.

Resolved, That fidelity to a fundamental principle of our movement—non-fellowship with slaveholders—requires us to withdraw from ecclesiastical bodies, churches, and church-members, that fellowship slaveholders, or who justify slaveholding.

Resolved, That the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the American Home Missionary Society, the American Tract Society, the American Sunday-school Union, and the American Bible Society, in consequence of the countenance and support they give to American slavery, are unworthy of the confidence and support of American Christians.

* Written by a member of this Committee, Rev. Joshua Leavitt.

Resolved, That while we are in favor of Bible Societies organized and conducted on right principles, printing Bibles without note or comment, and distributing them to the destitute at home and abroad; and while we consider the Bible an inspired anti-slavery book, yet we enter our protest against a Society that, while it distributes the Bible in other lands without regard to legal obstructions, distributes it to the slaves at home only where legal obstructions do not exist; and while its publications condemn, in strong denunciatory terms, the Romish Church and the laws of Italy, for preaching a gospel without the Bible, yet they are dumb in the presence of the slave laws and the American churches, who profess to give the gospel to the slaves while they refuse to give them the Bible.

A religious Anti-slavery Convention, in which the different denominations of Christians and Christian ministers were quite proportionately and very respectably represented, was recently held at West Randolph, Vt. The following resolutions were passed:

1. *Resolved*, That the subject of American slavery calls loudly for the vigilant attention of Christian men, and for their increased endeavors not only to resist the further progress of the evil, but to deliver our country entirely from its existence.

2. That we believe American slavery, both in principle and practice, to be directly opposed to the religion of Jesus Christ and every principle of moral rectitude, and utterly abominable before God.

3. That we consider slaveholding as much out of its place in the Church as would be any other system of iniquity; and that it is the solemn duty of all professed people of God to deliver themselves as speedily as possible from all participation in the enormous evil.

4. That those who persist in the practice of slaveholding, whether church members or ministers, should not be treated as members in good standing; and there should be no fraternal correspondence with ecclesiastical bodies who tolerate slaveholding in their churches, and refuse to listen to the voice of remonstrance.

6. That the late act of Congress called the "Fugitive Slave Law" is incompatible with the revealed will of God; contrary particularly to that fundamental principle of the gospel, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them;" that strenuous endeavors ought to be used to procure its repeal; and that in the meantime it is incomparably better to endure peacefully its penalties, than to sin against humanity, conscience, and the authority of God, by yielding obedience to its unjust requisitions.

8. That no preaching of the gospel is likely ever to reclaim men from the sin of slaveholding without direct and faithful application to the evil itself, as in other cases of transgression.

9. That our great religious Societies which are laboring to establish the gospel in the waste places of our land, and to send it abroad among heathen nations, ought to remember the millions in this country who are purposely kept in heathenish ignorance, and by no means tolerate slavery in the churches gathered by their missionaries, any more than caste, or polygamy, or any other iniquity; and that missionaries who persist in receiving slaveholders ought to be rejected.
—*American Missionary*, Sept., 1852.

SUPPLYING THE SLAVES WITH BIBLES.

The colporteur of the American Missionary Association in Kentucky has been successful in his work. He converses faithfully with slaveholders on the iniquity of the system of slavery, and circulates copies of the Scriptures among the slaves who can read. Occasionally he meets with opposition. He says, persons *not* holding slaves are the first to

raise their voice against slaves having the Bible, and against universal freedom. The slaveholders, generally, he finds are willing to have their slaves read the Scriptures, and some of them are even ready to pay for the books. The appeals made to the consciences of slaveholders he sometimes finds successful. One aged man, who had made provision for the freedom of his slaves at his death, against the remonstrances of his heirs-at-law, when urged to do his duty firmly and without delay, burst into tears. On revisiting the districts where the people have had time to read and study concerning the great evil and sinfulness of slavery, and its proper remedy, the colporteur states: "I have great occasion for rejoicing. . . . I am cheered by many indications of kind feeling towards myself personally, and many expressions of desire for anti-slavery and other publications which I am distributing." In some districts there have been lectures and debates concerning the evil of slavery. One person remarked that "the days of slavery were numbered, and that the slaveholders themselves were aware of it."

ANTI-SLAVERY CHURCHES IN SLAVE STATES.

The above Association sustain two missionaries in Kentucky and one in another slave State.* Rev. John G. Fee, in Kentucky, has labored for several years with indomitable courage and zeal in rearing anti-slavery churches in his native State. He preaches regularly to two, neither of which admits slaveholders as members. His "Non-fellowship with Slaveholders the Duty of Christians," which was published by this Society, has been freely circulated in Kentucky, and awakened the attention of many persons. The missionary in the other State alluded to, reports the existence of eleven churches in four neighboring counties, having an aggregate membership of three hundred and fifty persons, and preaches to six different congregations. The churches under his care admit no slaveholder to their communion. Many of these churches are composed chiefly of persons of the poorer class. Some of them have been greatly persecuted. A clergyman in Ohio, who is well acquainted with the missionary, says: "There are hundreds of anti-slavery people in ——— who attend his preaching, and he not unfrequently has pro-slavery hearers. He is the only man in all that region who has the courage to open his mouth for the dumb. A Northern man cannot preach there. Some false issue would be raised against him, and he would be killed, or driven off immediately." This devoted missionary, in a recent communication, states:

"Anti-slavery sentiments are looked upon more favorably than they have been in times past. . . . Persons holding and advocating such sentiments are

* Name omitted, from prudential reasons.

yet so proscribed, that it requires a great deal of fortitude to bear the sarcastic reflections that are heaped upon them ; still, there are a few who have, thus far, stood up for the right, and will, by God's grace, continue to do so. . . . Here is the moral battle-field. Shall the enemy have the conquest ? No, never ! Let us wage unceasing war against slavery and *all* moral evils. Help us, brethren, by your means and your prayers, and, under God, we shall yet triumph."

MUTILATIONS AND EXPURGATIONS OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS.

THE following notice was published during the last year in most of the anti-slavery newspapers :

INFORMATION WANTED.—A competent person has been engaged to collect, with a view to publication in this country and England, the principal mutilations and expurgations of English and American publications, by American publishers, booksellers, and authors, Tract and Sunday-school Societies, Ecclesiastical Assemblies and Committees, &c., for the purpose of securing sales in the slave States, or the favor of ecclesiastical and political parties and persons in authority, with a discussion of the principles connected with such conduct. It is believed that a full statement of these mutilations and expurgations will astonish the American people and the civilized world.

Some progress has been made in investigations and collations. All persons friendly to the undertaking, and especially *the friends of the Anti-slavery cause*, are requested to afford their aid by communicating to the undersigned, as early as possible, all facts in their possession relating to the subject, with particular reference to the editions, authors, publishers, &c., &c. A copy of the work, when printed, will be sent to each person who communicates authentic information.

LEWIS TAPPAN, Cor. Sec.
American & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

New-York, July 22, 1852.

N. B.—Editors throughout the country, who are friendly to the object, are respectfully requested to give the above one or more insertions.

We have not yet received all the responses that are expected, but the materials collected by the Committee have been arranged as far as possible with a view to publication. The first chapter comprises the alterations that have been made in Christian psalmody by different denominations, so as to expunge anti-slavery sentiments. It is not yet decided whether this shall be published separately, or time taken to arrange all the alterations of anti-slavery literature deemed important to be laid before the public, and the same be arranged for publication together. Judge Jay, in his letter to the Secretary of the American Tract Society, has anticipated the Committee in the publication of part of the facts collected. But these facts are accumulating, and it requires much labor to collect them from various publications and arrange them in a systematic manner. When completed, they will comprise, it is believed, an amount of evidence respecting the subserviency of the North, that will corroborate all that has been said respecting the control the slave power has had over public sentiment in the preparation and publication of books.

ANTI-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

The immense issues of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and the extraordinary avidity with which it has been read, have called forth other anti-slavery publications, and given to literature of this description unwonted popularity and success. Mrs. Stowe's principal work has been followed by another of equal importance, entitled "The Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin," in which the facts are given to the public upon which the incidents in her first work were founded. This compilation demonstrates that the author, so far from setting down "aught in malice," had rather "extenuated" the atrocities of slavery.

Hildreth's "White Slave" has also, like the works of Mrs. Stowe, attracted great attention both in this country and in Europe.*

Goodell's "Slavery and Anti-slavery; a History of the Great Struggle in both Hemispheres," and his "American Slave Code," are able works, and meet with deserved success.

Jewett & Co., the enterprising publishers of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" and the "Key," have issued Jay's "Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery," Giddings's "Speeches in Congress," Mrs. Stowe's "Two Altars," Sumner's "White Slavery in the Barbary States," and also "Autographs for Freedom;" making, we learn, four hundred and twenty-eight thousand volumes of anti-slavery publications issued by them during the year 1852 and the first half of the year 1853. They have in the press, and will issue very soon, Mrs. Child's "Memoirs of Isaac T. Hopper," Whittier's "Sabbath Scene," illustrated, and a series of Anti-slavery picture-books.

During the same period, Buell & Blanchard, printers of the *National Era* at Washington, issued nearly half a million copies of speeches in Congress on the side of freedom.

The following works have also been recently issued :

"An Inquiry into Scriptural and Ancient Servitude, in which it is shown that neither was Chattel Slavery; with the remedy for American Slavery." By E. Smith, Minister of the Gospel, Mansfield, Ohio.

"Slavery and the Church." By William Hosmer, Auburn, N. Y.

"The Slave-Catcher caught in the Meshes of the Eternal Law." By Asa Rand, Minister of the Gospel. Cleveland (O.): Sinead & Cowles.

"Twelve Years a Slave. Narrative of Solomon Northup, a citizen of New-York, kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and rescued in 1853

* Unlike another American historian, who mutilated his own works to gratify Southern readers, and prepare the way for his own political advancement, Mr. Hildreth nobly arrayed himself on the Anti-slavery cause, and has maintained his position, without caring whether his course would injure or benefit his literary productions or his own reputation. Honor to whom honor belongs!

from a cotton plantation near the Red river in Louisiana." Auburn : Derby & Miller. Buffalo : Derby, Orton & Mulligan. Cincinnati : Henry W. Derby.

"The Higher Law, in its relations to Civil Government, with particular reference to Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Law." By William Hosmer. Auburn : Derby & Miller.

These publications, widely circulated, are adapted to the times, and are calculated to do great good.

A monthly paper, entitled *Facts for the People*, has been commenced by the editor of the *National Era*. It is "designed for preservation, (being in quarto form,) as a document for reference, or for general circulation, as a Free Democratic missionary, especially among those not yet familiar with the Anti-slavery movement. It will be composed chiefly of articles from the *National Era*, adapted particularly to the purpose named." Besides the above-mentioned papers, there are the following, enumerated in the *Facts for the People* :

FREE DEMOCRATIC PRESS.

- Inquirer, Portland, Me. A. Willey. \$2 per annum.
 Independent Democrat, Concord, N. H. G. G. Foggy. \$2.
 News, Keene, N. H. S. Woodward. \$1 25.
 Democrat, Manchester, N. H. J. H. Goodale. \$1 50.
 Messenger, Portsmouth, N. H. T. J. Whittam. \$1.
 Freeman, Montpelier, Vt. D. P. Thompson. \$2.
 Observer, Morrisville, Vt. J. A. Somerby. \$1 25.
 Telegraph, Springfield, Vt. L. T. Guernsey. \$1 75.
 Democrat, Brattleborough, Vt. W. Nichols. \$1 50.
 Brandon Post, Brandon, Vt. P. Welch. \$1.
 Courier, Burlington, Vt. G. C. Samson. \$1 50.
 Commonwealth, Boston, Mass. J. D. Baldwin. Daily, \$5; weekly, \$2.
 Sentinel, North Adams, Mass. A. D. Brock. \$1 50.
 American, Lowell, Mass. W. S. Robinson. Tri-weekly, \$3.
 News, Fitchburg, Mass. R. F. Rollins. \$1 50.
 Essex County Freeman, Salem, Mass. J. Emmett. Semi-weekly, \$3 50.
 Republican, Greenfield, Mass.
 Spy, Worcester, Mass. J. M. Earle. \$2.
 Standard, New-Bedford, Mass.
 Courier, Northampton, Mass.
 Gazette, Dedham, Mass. Henry O. Hildreth. \$2.
 Democrat, Dedham, Mass. E. G. Robinson. \$2.
 Sentinel, Lawrence, Mass. John Ryan & Co. \$2.
 Rhode Island Freeman, Providence, R. I. Crawford & Harris. \$1.
 Republican, Hartford, Ct. Bartlett & Hawley. \$2.
 Herald, Ellington, N. Y. A. S. Brown.
 Evening Chronicle, Syracuse, N. Y. H. R. Raymond. Daily, \$3; weekly, \$1 50.
 Spirit of the Age, Norwich, N. Y. J. D. Lawyer. \$1.
 Wyoming County Mirror, Warsaw, N. Y. A. Holley. \$2.
 Telegraph, Oneida, N. Y. D. H. Frost. \$1 25.
 Banner of the Times, De Ruyter, N. Y.
 Free Press, Wellsville, N. Y. A. N. Cole. \$1 50.
 Frederick Douglass' Paper, Rochester, N. Y. Frederick Douglass. \$2.
 Free Press, Gouverneur, N. Y. Mitchell & Hulbert. \$1.
 Herald, Jamestown, N. Y.

Carson League, Syracuse, N. Y. J. Thomas. \$1 50.
 Saturday Visitor, Pittsburgh, Pa. Jane G. & William Swisshelm. \$1 50.
 Freeman, Mereer, Pa. W. T. Clark. \$1 50.
 Weekly Crescent, Erie, Pa. Caughey & McCreary. \$1 50.
 People's Press, Coudersport, Potter Co., Pa. Dougall, Mann, & Haskell. \$1 50.
 Dispatch, Pittsburgh, Pa. Foster & Fleeson. Daily, \$3; weekly, \$1.
 Clarion of Freedom, Indiana, Pa. Moorhead & McClaran. \$1.
 Die Erie Press, Philadelphia, Pa. F. W. Thomas. Daily, \$3.
 True Democrat, Cleveland, O. Thomas Brown. Daily, \$6; weekly, \$2.
 Ashtabula Sentinel, Jefferson and Ashtabula, O. W. C. Howell. \$2.
 Mahoning Free Democrat, Youngstown, O. M. Cullotan. \$1 50.
 Commercial, Cleveland, O. H. M. Addison. \$1 50.
 Journal, Wellington, O. George Brewster. \$1 50.
 Western Reserve Chronicle, Warren, O. E. O. Howard. \$2.
 Telegraph, Painsville, O. Gray & Doolittle. \$2.
 Ohio Times, Mount Vernon, O. Chapman & Thrall. \$1 50.
 Independent Democrat, Elyria, O. Philemon Bliss. \$2.
 Columbian, Columbus, O. L. L. Rice.
 Free Democrat, Chardon, O. J. S. Wright. \$1.
 Star, Ravenna, O. Lyman W. Hall. \$1 50.
 Herald of Freedom, Wilmington, O. J. W. Chaffin. \$1 50.
 Free Democrat, Detroit, Mich. S. H. Baker. Daily, \$5; weekly, \$1.
 Free Democrat, Indianapolis, Ind. R. Vaile. \$1 50.
 Western Citizen, Chicago, Ill. Z. C. Eastman. Daily and weekly.
 Commercial Advertiser, Chicago, Ill.
 Journal, Sparta, Ill. I. S. Coulter. \$1 25.
 Western Freeman, Galesburg, Ill. W. J. Lane. \$2.
 Free Democrat, Waukesha, Wis. S. M. Booth. Daily, \$4; weekly, \$2.
 Telegraph, Kenosha, Wis. Sholes & Frank. \$2.
 Free Press, Janesville, Wis. Joseph Baker. \$1 50.
 Free Press, Sheboygan Falls, Wis. J. A. Smith. \$2.
 Advocate, Racine, Wis. C. Clements. \$2.
 Kentucky News, Newport, Ky. W. S. Bailey. \$1.
 True Democrat, Mount Pleasant, Iowa. J. W. Howe. \$1 50.
 Der Demokrat, Davenport, Iowa. Thomas Gulich. \$2.
 Pacific Statesman, San Francisco, Cal. J. H. Purdy.
 Der National Demokrat, Washington, D. C. Fred. Schmidt, editor; Buell & Blanchard, publishers. \$2.

ANTI-SLAVERY PRESS.

Liberator, Boston, Mass. William Lloyd Garrison. \$2 50.
 Pennsylvania Freeman, Philadelphia, Pa. C. M. Burleigh. \$2.
 National Anti-slavery Standard, New-York, N. Y. S. H. Gay & E. Quincy. \$2.
 Anti-slavery Bugle, Salem, O. M. R. Robinson. \$1 50.
 Voice of the Fugitive.

We regret our inability to give any thing like a suitable list of the very many *religious* newspapers and periodicals that deserve a place with the preceding, besides many more that are in a greater or less degree progressive and favorable. Several political papers, both Whig and Democratic, or lately such, deserve credit for doing much for the diffusion of important information and just sentiments. Unable to mention them all by name, we avoid the seemingly invidious course of naming only a part (perhaps a *small* part) of them.

There have likewise appeared a class of essays and publications, which, looking at slavery only in its economic bearings, and solicitous mainly to

avoid the pecuniary disadvantages of the system, are occupied largely with the discussion of expedients by means of which, it is thought, the system may be gradually changed and perhaps ultimately displaced, without the agitations occasioned by exhorting slaveholders to repent of the sin of slaveholding. If Abolitionists are true to their principles, and faithful in the propagation of them, this species of literature will do no harm, but may be made to subserve, ultimately, the cause of truth and humanity.

PRO-SLAVERY PUBLICATIONS.

The extraordinary success of the anti-slavery publications the past year has emboldened a countless number of aspirants for literary fame or profit to issue pro-slavery works, of various type and demerit, some of them calculated to mislead or ridicule, but some of them evidently intended to counteract what the authors seem to believe is pernicious doctrine. The true friends of freedom must rejoice in witnessing this encounter of wits and literary essayists, believing that the more the great question is discussed, the more light and truth will be evolved. "Though all the winds of doctrine be let loose to play upon the earth, so *Truth* be in the field, we do injuriously to doubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple! Who ever knew Truth put to the worse by a free and open encounter!"*

We have not space to enumerate the titles of these ephemeral publications; and yet we may do wrong in styling them "ephemeral," as some of them will doubtless descend to future ages, with not a few religious and secular newspapers, speeches, sermons, and monthlies, to engage the attention of the historian, and excite the wonder of posterity that men and women, not deficient in abilities and literary skill, should, in this age, have advocated slavery, or glossed over its enormities, or directed their shafts at those who contend for the inalienable rights of their fellow-men.

FREE LABOR PRODUCE.

More than usual prominence has been given to this subject the past year. The excellent monthly publication, entitled *The Non-Slaveholder*, has been revived at Philadelphia, and the Association of Friends have published their Annual Reports. Their object is simple in its nature. It is "to encourage and promote, by a union of efforts, the production and distribution, untouched and unstained by oppression and wrong, of such articles of domestic consumption as are usually and chiefly extorted from the labor of slaves." Cotton is the principal article. It is shown that it not only *may be*, but actually *is*, extensively cultivated in the United

* Milton.

States, and various other places, by the labor of freemen. On the western coast of Africa the cotton plant is indigenous. It is also found at La Plata, where it grows wild on the banks of the Parana. Efforts continue to be made to increase the quantity and improve the quality of the East India cotton. Over an extent of five hundred and fifty miles of the Australian coast, cotton of the best description perennially thrives. It is also interesting to know that the Sea Island, the finest description of cotton, from which the most delicate goods are manufactured, which is grown in America along a very limited extent of coast in Georgia and South Carolina exclusively, can be grown along the above extent of Australian coast, equally well with the shorter-stapled variety.* Next to cotton, is the great staple of Louisiana, Cuba, and Brazil. Sugar can be procured from the British, French, and Danish West Indies, and also from the East Indies.†

The hopes that have been entertained, that cotton prepared from flax, by Claussen's method, would supersede the slave-grown staple, do not now seem likely to be realized; yet the friends and consumers of the products of free labor exclusively will be gratified to learn that, through improvements in hemp and in machinery for manufacturing it, a much more abundant and cheaper supply of linen fabrics is now likely soon to be placed in our markets.

An "American Linen Company," of which several of our leading merchants are stockholders, has in operation at Marcellus, N. Y., the necessary machinery, and are preparing to make linen, flax-cotton, rope, bagging, &c., from unrotted flax. They have, as they believe, already demonstrated that linens may be produced at about the cost of procuring cotton goods when cotton is not below seven or eight cents a pound. The Company intend, so soon as their European patents are secured and their works farther advanced, to open their improvements to the public in the most liberal manner. Whether this and similar manufactures are to affect slavery, and to what extent, is a matter of opinion; but, if it is successful, we see not but it will bring cotton down so low that there can be no object in growing it.

Professor Stowe has recently directed the attention of the British public to the joint coöperation of American cotton planters and Manchester capitalists in upholding American slavery, and his remarks have been severely censured by a portion of the British and American press. If, as is charged—but of which we have seen no evidence—he discarded

* Report of the Managers of the Free Produce Association of Friends of New-York Yearly Meeting.

† Free labor goods can be procured of G. W. Taylor, N. W. corner of Fifth and Cherry streets, Philadelphia; and Ezra Towne, 207 Fulton street, New York.

all moral and religious agencies for the the overthrow of slavery, leaving the work to economical and commercial means alone, it was certainly a great error ; but we see not how any true friend of emancipation can object to agencies of an economical and commercial character, in due proportion with agencies of a moral and religious nature. We fully believe that the latter are chiefly to be relied upon ; but when he remarks that eight hundred thousand women in England, in the days of British West India slavery, by signing a pledge that they would not use slave-grown sugar, produced a fall in the article of a penny sterling a pound, and thus alarmed the owners of West India states more than all the alarm that had been produced by moral and legislative action, we are not disposed to undervalue efforts, made either in England or the United States, by friends of the cause, to find substitutes for slave-grown cotton and sugar, and induce their countrymen to use them in preference.

We agree with the objectors to Professor Stowe's views, that it was unwise in him to lay so little stress upon the moral and religious agencies at work, and the great delinquency of his brethren in the ministry, in ecclesiastical bodies, and in national religious Societies ; and that he proposed, as a substitute for negro slave labor, the introduction of Chinese laborers to work for sixpence a day, although this far exceeds the "pay" given to the colored laborers who now till the cotton fields.

FACTORIES AT THE SOUTH.

While a portion of the Abolitionists and economists of the North have been endeavoring to do away with the necessity of using slave-grown cotton, the upholders of the patriarchal system at the South have been trying various experiments to manufacture their own staple, so as not to rely upon Northern capital and skill. These attempts have, as was predicted, signally failed, for obvious reasons. The *Pittsburgh Post* chronicles one instance of this failure as follows :

"BAD STOCK.—The Howard Cotton Factory at Columbus, Ga., with all its appurtenances, buildings, machinery, and site, was sold at sheriff's sale, last week, for \$41,003. The stockholders had paid into the concern about \$80,000, of which amount \$47,000 were expended in machinery alone, and they have now to raise means to pay off other indebtedness for which the Company is liable.

"We cannot clearly understand why a cotton factory in the South cannot succeed as well, or better, than those we have in the North. They have the material at their door ; they have cheap labor, and their capitalists are men of enlarged views and commendable enterprise. Then, why should they fail in the manufacture of cotton goods? They have all the advantages upon their side. It must be in not attending to some of the small details. They have looked to the grand consummation of their project, and squandered thousands to arrive at the desired end, when, perhaps, hundreds in the hands of a Northerner less enthusiastic would, with caution, have insured a favorable result to the speculation.

"If the Southern people desire to become *practical* in the manufacturing line, they must go to work in a practical manner. We believe that whenever they

would become successful manufacturers, the everlasting clamor about the interests of the North and the South would cease, and we would be a happy and united people."

The difficulty in understanding this failure, on the part of the masculine editor of the *Post*, is happily censured by his witty and talented neighbor, the lady who edits the *Pittsburgh Saturday Visitor*, which may be commended to the consideration of both Southern and Northern investigators of this branch of political economy, in the following manner :

"The Howard Cotton Factory is not the only 'bad stock' in the sunny South. If we may judge from the face of the country, the land itself is very bad stock, and the people still worse. Take them altogether, white and black, and we doubt if their average industry will pay one per cent. on investment, counting them at fifty dollars a head, and allowing twenty dollars a year for 'keep.'

"It is sheer nonsense and folly to talk of or expect the South to compete with the North in manufactures. One might as reasonably expect spades, sickles, and mule-pauniers to compete with steam-ploughs, reaping-machines and locomotives, as look for slaves to work beside the educated laborers of the free States. Cotton factories require intelligent operatives; and we should as much expect to see fishing-worms making silk cocoons, as to see the ignorant, brutified laborers of the South competing with our factory-girls.

"The *Post* is quite mistaken about the 'cheap labor' of the South. Slave labor must always be dear labor, from the want of intelligence in the laborer, and his want of interest in the proceeds. Suppose the factory owners have to buy the laborers as well as the machinery, they will cost on an average eight hundred dollars each. Counting this at six per cent., here is forty eight dollars. Then they must be fed and clothed in some kind of style, and this cannot be done for much less than *twenty dollars a year*. Then there are the risks of loss by death, depreciation in value from an unhealthy employment, and the natural process of growing old, which would scarce be incurred for less than ten per cent., and this brings the wages up to \$138 per annum, without counting the salaries of additional overseers, night paroles, &c., &c., to keep them at work and prevent their doing mischief, which would bring it up to the average wages of Northern operatives, two of whom would be more efficient than three of your *cheap* operatives. But the actual price of hired labor should be the criterion of its value, and this is at least one third higher in slave States than in free States. An ordinary female house-servant commands two hundred dollars per annum in Kentucky, and one girl for one hundred dollars in this State will do as much work as two of them. Our impression, when in a slave State, was, that labor there was four times the price it was at home. It never can be cheap where it is a badge of disgrace; for fashion will make so many idlers that the common want cannot be supplied; and Southern enterprise, in any competition with Northern intelligence, must vanish in moonshine, until Southern honesty shall give to their laborers that which is 'just and equal'—an interest in their own labor, and wages for their work."

UNPROFITABLENESS OF SLAVE LABOR.

There are persons of a commercial cast of mind who believe that slavery will never come to an end until it becomes too unprofitable to be sustained. Then, say they, it will come to an end speedily, and all the arguments in support of it, pretended to be derived from the Bible, history, climate, race, etc., will be exploded in the twinkling of an eye. We are of the class, we confess, who have faith in moral suasion, in appeals

to Scripture, in political regeneration, in the progress of Christianity, and in the promises of God. But it may be well to look to the subject in a commercial view, as advancement in the science of political economy is connected with the triumphs of reason and revelation.

Professor Hancock, of England, in a paper read before the BRITISH ASSOCIATION,* says: "As a conclusion of political economy, emancipation should be immediate, and not gradual. . . . In reference to the argument, that free labor could not compete with that of slaves, he referred to the fact that the free producers of sugar were beating the slave sugar out of the market, in the United Kingdom. In proof of this, he referred to the last returns of the Board of Trade, which showed that the importation of free sugar was increasing, and that of other sugar falling off. Thus, from British possessions in the west, in the last year we took for home consumption 1,618,000 cwts., against 950,000 in the previous year. There was also an increase from the Mauritius; and from our East India possessions, an advance from about 550,000 cwts., in 1851, to 780,000 in 1852; whilst, during the same time, the consumption of slave sugar had fallen off from 555,000 cwts. to 317,000 "

Professor Fowler, of Massachusetts, said: "He would refer to the case of Fairfax county, Virginia, where, under slavery, property had greatly fallen in value. Recourse had then been had to free white labor, and the consequence was, that it was found profitable with it to cultivate property which had been before unprofitable."

It appears to be a general rule, that the slave extracts more from the soil than he returns to it. Bryan Edwards, in his History of the West Indies, said: "One English laborer, in his own climate, would perform three times the work of any one negro in the same period." Dr. Priehard, in his Notes on the West Indies, estimates the work performed with ease by two Europeans, as equivalent to what twelve slaves are accustomed to effect. Joshua Steele, a planter in Barbadoes, tried the effect of substituting the hope of reward for the fear of punishment. By offering his slaves a small premium, to be paid on condition that a certain task should be performed, he obtained from them three times as much work in a given time, as without it. Dr. Cooper, in his Letters on Political Economy, published in 1826, at Columbia, South Carolina, estimates the labor of a slave at two thirds of what a white laborer, at usual wages, would perform. This comparison was probably made between slave and free labor in a slave State, where the activity of the white man is influenced by the customary movements of slaves. With these authorities in view, we may safely assume the labor of one freeman as equivalent to two slaves. Hence we may perceive that the loss to the United States,

* London paper. See *National Anti-slavery Standard* of October 28, 1852

in their collective capacity, from the system of slavery, must be enormous.*

In a powerful article in *Blackwood's Magazine* for January, 1853, on "Slavery and the Slave Power in the United States of America," in which the able writer shows the ruinous effects of slavery upon the country, viewed morally or politically, he introduces a comparison, written by an American gentleman, between the agriculture of the State of New-York, as it was in the days of slavery, and as it is now, and says:

"These two pictures show distinctly the paralyzing effect of slavery; how, instead of industry, it produces idleness; and, instead of economy, thrift, and tidiness, overspreads a land with wastefulness, dissipation, and discomfort."

INTER-STATE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE execrable slave-trade, stigmatized by our laws as piracy when carried on between the coast of Africa and foreign countries, is, as conducted between the States of this Union, connived at and practised by the most chivalrous of the Southern people. During the past year, slaves have brought enormous prices, and the piratical trade between the States has therefore been unusually rife. An immense forced emigration has taken place from Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky and Missouri, tending southerly; and tens of thousand of poor negroes, torn from their husbands, wives, and children, have been precipitated upon the cotton-growing States, swelling, in many places, an already overerowed population. On many a plantation and in many a slave-coffle there has been "a voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning; Rachel weeping for her children, and would not be comforted, because they are not;" many Shelbys have been forced to part with their slaves to satisfy hungry creditors; many Haleys and Legrees have tortured to death the victims of their avarice; and the sufferings of many Toms and Chloes have been recorded on high, with the names of their tormentors.

We have previously copied one of these advertisements, and will not harrow the feelings of our readers by introducing more. One of the publishers of the *Tribune* received a letter from a friend, dated Richmond, Virginia, March 3, 1853, giving an account of one of the weekly auction sales of human beings in the capital of the "mother of States and of patriots." The letter states:

"I have spent two hours at the public sales of slaves. There are four of them, and all in the same street, not more than two blocks from the Exchange Hotel, where we are staying. These slave dépôts are in one of the most frequented streets of the place, and the sales are within view of the passers-by. There are small screens behind which the women of mature years are taken for inspection;

but the men and boys are publicly examined in the open store. . . . I saw several children sold; the girls brought the highest prices. Girls from 12 to 18 years old brought from \$500 to \$800. . . . I must say that the slaves did not display as much feeling as I had expected, as a general thing; but there was *one* noble exception—God bless her! and save her too!! as I hope He will in some way for if He does not interpose, there are no men there that would."

The writer proceeds to describe this woman :

"She was a fine-looking woman, about 25 years old, with three *beautiful* children. Her children as well as herself were neatly dressed. She attracted my attention at once on entering the room, and I took my stand near her, to learn her answers to the various questions put to her by the traders. *One* of those traders asked her what was the matter with her eyes? Wiping away the tears, she replied, 'I s'pose I have been crying.' 'Why do you cry?' 'Because I have left my man behind, and his master won't let him come along.' 'Oh, if I buy you, I will furnish you with a better husband, or man, as you call him, than your old one.' 'I don't want any *better*, and won't have any *other* as long as he lives.' 'Oh, but you will though, if I buy you.' '*No, Massa, God helping me, I never will.*' . . . The most indecent questions were put to her, all of which, after a little hesitation, she answered.

"But when asked if she thought she could turn out a *child a year*? she replied, '*No, Massa, I never have any more, and I sorry that I got these.*'"

Professor Dew, of Virginia, as long ago as 1833, stated that the State was exporting at the rate of 6,000 souls every year, and was receiving in return for them, \$1,200,000.

"The slave population of Virginia in 1830, as shown by the census of that year, was 469,757. In the ten years following that census, the slave population of the United States increased 23.8 per cent. If we assume that the natural increase of the 469,757 slaves who were in Virginia at the census of 1830 was no greater than the average increase of slaves in the whole country, the slave population of Virginia in 1840 would have been 581,559, had there been in the mean time no deportation of slaves. In the next ten years, (viz., from 1840 to 1850,) the slave population of the Union increased 28.81 per cent. At that rate of natural increase, the slave population of Virginia in 1850, without any deportation in the meantime, would have been 749,106. But the actual slave population of Virginia in 1850, as shown by the census, was only 472,528. The difference of 276,578 is to be accounted for by the deportation of slaves. In other words, this difference is the result of the Virginia slave-trade.

"This then is the fact which we commend to the attention of all who desire to ignore the hideous atrocity of the American slave-trade, and who in that willing ignorance affirm that the sale of a 'converted' slave, 'except by the slave's own consent, is an *almost unheard-of occurrence.*' The natural increase of the slaves in Virginia has been diminished by deportation at the rate of 18,828 every year, for the twenty years preceding the last census. Those dry tables of the census, with all the pains taking of the Government to prevent any information about slavery and the slave-trade from getting into them, have nevertheless a terrible testimony to give upon a careful cross-examination. So long as 'slavery and the Constitution' co-exist, the decennial enumeration must give for each State distinctly 'the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years,' and *also*, in a separate statement, the number of 'all *other* persons.' The decennial return of those 'all other persons' will give out to any patient inquirer facts which the people of the South would conceal if they could, but which it is folly to contradict."

And yet Mr. Stevenson, when Minister at the court of St. James, had

* Dr. Bacon, in the *Independent*.

the hardihood publicly to deny that Virginia bred slaves for the Southern market.

In Maryland, during the same period, more than the whole natural increase has been swallowed up by the inter-State slave-trade.

"Such is the American slave-trade, and such are its statistics, as nearly as the census will give them. And yet intelligent men in our Northern cities, men of humane and Christian sympathies, but misled by commercial interests, directly or indirectly, or by the influences of ecclesiastical partisanship, will tell us, with such statistics as these within their reach, that the representation of slavery given in Mrs. Stowe's exquisite story of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is unjust. Yes, men, and women too, of high culture and refined sensibility, while the census informs us and informs the world that this slave-trade, with its unutterable crimes and miseries, violating every thing that is holy, and tearing every heart-string, numbering, at the lowest estimate, from 20,000 to 40,000 victims every year—can make up their faces to tell us that *Uncle Tom's Cabin* is a mischievous book! LORD, WHAT IS MAN, THAT THOU ART MINDFUL OF HIM!"*

CRUELITIES.

Anti-slavery people are continually accused, not only by the people of the South, but by some of their own fellow-citizens, of exaggerating the cruelties inflicted upon the slaves. It is said they are "well off;" that, in the language of the late Mr. Clay, many of them are "fat and sleek;" that they are, as a general thing, not over-taxed; that they are contented, merry, fond of singing and sports: in better condition than the free people of the North, or the operatives in England, and would not leave their masters if they could. Mrs. Stowe is accused of misrepresenting the matter in "*Uncle Tom's Cabin*," and every anti-slavery writer is accused of caricaturing the "Southern institution."

Now, these accusers, whether from the North or South, have forgotten, or were always ignorant of a certain book published by the Anti-slavery Society, entitled "*Slavery as it Is; or, the Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses*." This work was written, it is acknowledged, by a Northern man, but the compilation of the testimony of these thousand witnesses was exclusively from Southern papers and living witnesses. The testimony was kept for years in a form capable of being proved in a court of justice, and the whole South was notified of it, and challenged to refute the evidence. Mrs. Stowe availed herself of this work, and of the mass of cumulative testimony since its publication. The testimony is then essentially Southern; and if exaggerated, the exaggeration is the work of Southern slaveholders, Southern ministers and laymen of high respectability where they reside, Southern editors, Southern planters, merchants, mechanics, travellers, and traders.

The "American Slave Code" shows the cruel character of slavery, and the facts adduced show how the theory is reduced to practice: thousands who, at the peril of their lives, annually fly from the house of bondage, evince the feelings of the slaves under the treatment they receive. The

* Dr. Bacon, in the *Independent*.

advertisements for runaways with which the Southern papers are crowded, demonstrate the discontent of the slaves and their longings for freedom. The unwillingness of masters and mistresses to bring their servants to the North during their summer pilgrimages, testify their apprehensions on the subject; and the marks, scars, and maimings of the poor victims appeal to Heaven for the truth of what is said of the atrocities of slavery.

In speaking of the sufferings produced by physical torture, anti-slavery writers describe only a small part of the actual sufferings of the slaves, while those who attempt to vindicate the South for their treatment of slaves, seldom allude to any sufferings but those merely physical—the lightest of all, in many cases. Who can describe the sufferings of parents for ever bereft of their children; mothers robbed of their daughters, children torn from their parents; young women and married women exposed to the brutal lusts of slave-drivers, masters, and overseers; of millions doomed to insult, deprived of opportunities to read God's Word, to attend upon His worship, to instruct their children; taunted for religious principles and practices by the ungodly; and the innumerable wrongs inflicted upon helpless beings in the power of infuriated, irresponsible, and wicked men. The day of judgment only will disclose those registered wrongs of which the colored men, women, and children are the victims in the slave States. Exaggeration! Plain narratives of facts, and the untold sorrows of the down-trodden may be so termed by the ignorant or unfeeling, but surely they are not by the recording angel, who drops a tear at every record made; nor can they be by the compassionate Saviour, who, in the language of Scripture, tells their wanderings, puts their tears into his bottle, and writes them in his book of remembrance.

"Yeoman," a person with Southern sympathies who, in the *New-York Daily Times*, writes "Letters on the Productions, Industry, and Resources of the Southern States," says:

"The Dismal Swamps are noted places of refuge for runaway negroes. They were formerly peopled in this way much more than at present; a systematic hunting of them with dogs and guns having been made by individuals who took it up as a business about ten years ago. Children were born, bred, lived, and died there. The negro, my guide, told me he had seen skeletons, and had helped to bury bodies recently dead. There are people in the swamps now, he thought, that are the children of fugitives, and fugitives themselves, *all their lives*. What a strange life it must be! . . . He said the drivers sometimes shot them. When they saw a fugitive, if he tried to run away from them, they would call out to him that if he did not stop they would shoot; and if he did not, then they would shoot, and sometimes kill him. 'But some of 'em would *rather* be shot than be took, Sir,' he added, simply. . . . No particular breed of dogs is used for hunting negroes; blood-hounds, fox-hounds, bull-dogs, and curs were used, and one white man told me how they were *trained* for it, as if it was a common or notorious practice. They are shut up when puppies, and never allowed to see a negro except while training to catch him. A negro is made to run from them,

and they are encouraged to follow him until he gets into a tree, when they are given meat. Afterwards they learn to follow any particular negro by scent, and then a shoe or a piece of clothing is taken off a negro, and they learn to find out by scent who it belongs to, and to *tree* him, &c. . . . When the drivers take a negro who has not a pass or 'free paper,' and they don't know whose slave he is, they confine him in jail and advertise him. If no one claims him within a year, he is sold to the highest bidder at a public sale."*

The subjoined is from the *Richmond Examiner*, May 13th, 1853 :

"**BREAKING UP A NEGRO SCHOOL.**—The officers at Norfolk made a descent on Tuesday upon a negro school, kept in the neighborhood of the Stone Bridge, by a Mrs. Douglas and her daughter, and the teachers, together with their sable pupils, were taken before his Honor. They acknowledged their guilt, but pleaded ignorance of the law, and were discharged, on a promise to do so no more; a very convenient way of getting out of the scrape. The law of this State imposes a fine of one hundred dollars, and imprisonment for six months, for such offences; is positive, and allows no discretion in the committing magistrate."

Education is said to be an offense in Virginia under a penalty of "one hundred dollars, and imprisonment for six months." It was Mr. Wise, we think, one of the representatives from this State in Congress, who boasted that there was not a single newspaper published in his Congressional District. We have heard of a preacher there or in some other State, who gloried in never having owned a dictionary. We are reminded by these things of an anecdote of Senator Tracy, of Connecticut, who, when in Congress, was beckoned to the window by Senator Giles, of Virginia, who, pointing to a drove of jackasses passing by the Capitol, said: "Tracy, see those Yankees; where do you think they are going to?" The witty Yankee Senator immediately replied: "Why, to Virginia, to be sure, to teach school." Virginia, justly proud as she may be of the eminent men who have adorned the annals of her history, has just cause of humiliation that she suffers any portion of her citizens to trample upon the poor, debarring them from the lights of knowledge, expatriating them to a foreign land on account of their color, and lynching those who would teach her ignorant sons and daughters the elements of knowledge.

THE SLAVE CODE.

The opportune work entitled the "American Slave Code" has been already alluded to. This work was not intended for a law book, though

* A few years since, a noble-looking black called upon the writer. He was a fugitive, and had walked 1,800 miles, from Louisiana to New-York, without speaking to more than three white men. It was his third attempt to escape from slavery. He left a wife and children behind, in hopes that at some future day he could make arrangements to bring them out of slavery. He said that at his second attempt he was pursued by men and blood-hounds, who attacked and almost killed him before he surrendered. Employment and good wages were procured for him in Brooklyn, but in a short time he was missing. After the lapse of a year, a letter was received from him, dated on board a whaler in the Pacific Ocean, saying: "I fled from Brooklyn because I could not sleep, as I was so near the slaveholding country. I thought I could not be safe until I had gone to the other side of the globe."

it contains, it is believed, most of the laws that have been enacted by the different slave States for the purpose of exacting labor from the slaves, and punishing those who interfere with the "institution."* It has been republished in London. It may be published in other countries and other languages. The people of this country will be judged by it. It has been justly observed, they are responsible for the laws who pass them, aid in their passage, or consent to their passage; and also for whatever powers are conferred, acts enjoined, or evils allowed by them; and he is responsible for the laws and their effects, who avails himself of these powers, or complies with their requisitions.†

ESCAPES.

The escapes have been more numerous than ever, the past year. We have already copied several advertisements, and add the following for the purpose of showing what description of persons take their own liberty:

TWENTY DOLLARS REWARD.—Ran away from the plantation of the undersigned, the negro man SHIEDRICK, a PREACHER, 5 feet 9 inches high, about forty years old, but not looking over twenty-eight, stamped M. B. on the breast, and having both small toes cut off. He is of very dark complexion, with eyes small but bright, and a look quite insolent. He dresses good, and was arrested as a runaway at Donaldsville some three years ago. The above reward will be paid for his arrest, by addressing Messrs. Arnaut Brothers, St. James' Parish, or A. Millenberger & Co., 30 Carondelet street.—*New-Orleans Picayune.*

The following is from a clergyman, who is a hater of oppression:

"Yesterday a slave man, from Kentucky, swam the Ohio river opposite to Fulton. He reached the Ohio side exhausted with cold and fatigue. As he lay resting on the shore, he observed his pursuers on horseback, with rifles, on the opposite bank. They discovered their victim, and crossed in a ferry boat at Pendleton, but the sight of these human tigers revived the almost drowned man, and like a deer he scaled the precipitous hill back of Fulton and disappeared. God speed the fugitive! and I had almost added, crush the black hearts of his pursuers!"

NEGRO STAMPEDE.—Twenty-five negroes ran away from their masters, in Boone county, Kentucky, on the night of the 2d inst. Among those who have lost their servants are two ministers of the gospel. The *Aurora Banner* says, that some weeks before their departure, one of the slaves procured and read to his comrades *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and it is supposed that the beauties of Canadian free dom, as pictured by Mrs. Stowe, were the inducements to run away.

Whether these are the same as those mentioned in the following, we are not certain:

A STAMPEDE.—The "Underground Railroad" would seem to be in excellent order. A company of 29 slaves from Kentucky reached here on Monday evening last, and were safely conveyed to the Canada side the next morning. They were all hale young men and women, none of them over 35 years of age, for whose

* See an eloquent notice of this work by J. G. Whittier in the *National Era* of April 7, 1852.

† *National Era*, October 21, 1852.

recapture, we hear, liberal offers are proclaimed. They travelled by wagons through Indiana, and reached here in good condition. They preferred to be their own property, and they deserved to be.—*Detroit Christian Herald*.

ADVERTISEMENT FOR SLAVES.

The *Boston Courier*, one of the most liberally-paid commercial papers in Boston, has made itself an *advertising medium for the sale of slaves*. Here is an advertisement copied from that paper :



"A RARE CHANCE FOR CAPITALISTS !

"The PULASKI HOUSE, at Savannah, and Furniture, and a number of prime Negroes, accustomed to Hotel business.

"The subscriber, desirous to retire from business, offers the above-named property for sale on accommodating terms. For particulars apply to the proprietor on the premises.

"If not sold previous to the 1st of June, the House will be offered for rent to an *approved tenant*, who will purchase the Furniture, and stock of Wines, Liquors, &c.

P. WILTBERGER."

"Savannah, April 19, 1853."

The editor, on attention being directed to the advertisement, attempted to laugh at the whole thing as a joke—a sort of hoax ; but this did not answer the purpose, as quite a number of persons promptly stopped the *Courier*, feeling that themselves and their city were insulted by the appearance of such an advertisement.*

LYNCH LAW.

As if the statute-book of the South was not sufficiently bloody and accommodating to the infuriated passions of men, a tribunal invested with a more summary process has been instituted. In times past, especially since the anti-slavery agitation, its sanguinary decisions have accorded with the diabolical rage of men accustomed to irresponsible power, and too impatient for the more tardy operations of the legalized Lynch laws found in the "American Slave Code." It is not negroes alone, or even Abolitionists, who are deemed proper subjects for the

* A considerable number of persons from Massachusetts reside at and near Savannah. Among the number, a great-great-grandson of a renowned Congregational clergyman. This young man, while residing in Paris, became enamored with the daughter of a Georgian widow, who had married a clergyman educated at Andover, Mass. This young woman was the heir-at-law of some five hundred slaves. The clergyman, on marrying her mother, abandoned his profession, and the son-in-law, on marrying the daughter, left the mercantile for a planter's life. He has been accustomed to present the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, one hundred dollars each at his annual visits to his native State. He is called an involuntary slaveholder—one who, in the language of the resolution of the N. S. General Assembly at Detroit, holds his slaves under the "obligations of guardianship, or the demands of humanity," and is therefore exempt from discipline.

infliction of this process. Upwards of a year since, the Virginia newspapers contained an account of the infliction of Lynch law upon the person of Mr. Cornut, a citizen of Graysen county, a native of Virginia and a slaveholder. His offense was, holding anti-slavery opinions and harboring the intention of emancipating his slaves and bequeathing them property. For this, his neighbors seized, summarily condemned him, stripped him, tied him to a tree, and whipped him.

Mr. Cornut appealed to the law for redress. The Clerk of the county resigned. As no one would accept the appointment, the judge, Brown, found himself unable to proceed with business, and accordingly adjourned the court. Immediately afterwards, a public meeting was held, and resolutions adopted to maintain the stand taken. Both the court and the lawyers were notified not to undertake the case, upon pain of a coat of tar and feathers. When the court convened, it was dissolved by violence. A band of armed men marched around the court-house, fired their guns by platoons, and disturbed the court! The people in the neighboring counties held meetings and passed resolutions sustaining the movement of the citizens of Graysen.*

WASHINGTON, had he lived in these days, and had the intentions in his will been published during his lifetime, might also have been lynched by the people of his native State—Virginia. Certain it is, that those who in this age maintain and utter his opinions, are liable to such outrages. It is remarkable that Virginia, which gave birth to so many men who have spoken so eloquently in favor of human rights, and the motto of whose State seal is, SIC SEMPER TYRANNIS, should be at the present day the most influential, South Carolina perhaps excepted, against those who hold the principles of their forefathers.

SOUTHERN VIEWS AND FEELINGS.

The feelings of that portion of the Southern people who derive gain from the sale or services of slaves, or who uphold the system of slavery from political or interested motives, may be learned from the Slave Code; the practices of slaveholders, a portion of which we have stated; the defenses of slaveholding attempted to be made from the Bible, and the anathemas poured out upon anti-slavery people every where. There are others living at the South who see and feel the evils of slavery; its injurious effect upon themselves, their children, and the community; its wickedness and meanness, and its hatefulness in the sight of the Supreme Being. This class, we hope, is on the increase; but this fact, instead of abating the violence and savageness of slaveholders, tends to increase

* *National Era* of May 13, 1852.

their exasperation. This probably will continue to be the case until the chain that binds the slaves snaps by some sudden convulsion, or some great political or moral event occurs to startle the South, and bring about voluntary emancipation. The history of Pharaoh shows the tenacity with which oppressors hold their victims, and the terrible judgments of the Almighty that inevitably fall upon persistent slaveholders.

The ablest defense of slavery that has appeared for a long time was published the last year by Rev. J. H. Thornwell, D. D. of South Carolina. It was in the form of a "Report on Slavery," made to the Presbyterian (Old School) Assembly. This paper has been circulated far and wide by the slaveholders in Church and State, who seem to consider its argument conclusive. It was evident, says Dr. Thornwell, "that a strong public sentiment, both in Europe and America, had been organized, and was daily growing in intensity, against institutions which we had inherited from our fathers, and against which we felt no call, either from religion or policy, to enter a protest." The report was made "to disabuse the minds of brethren" with whom the Southern Church was anxious to maintain fellowship, of "prejudices and misapprehensions." The following sentences will give some idea of the argument:

"We are far from admitting . . . that the proper end of the Church is the direct promotion of universal good. The problems which the anomalies of our fallen state are continually forcing on philanthropy, the Church has no right directly to solve. . . . Has the Church any authority to declare slavery to be sinful? . . . Certain it is that no direct condemnation of it can any where be found in the sacred volume. . . . The prophet or apostle gives no note of alarm, raises no signal of distress when he comes to the slave and his master; and the unwary reader is in serious danger of concluding that, according to the Bible, it is not much more harm to be a master than a father; a slave than a child. The Scriptures not only fail to condemn; they as distinctly sanction slavery as any other social condition of man. . . . In itself considered, it is not inconsistent with the will of God; it is not sinful."

"Slavery," says Dr. Thornwell, "is implicated in every fibre of Southern society;" and he therefore makes an appeal to the North, and to the world, to let them alone, and to "feel that slavery is no ground for discord, and that in Christ Jesus there is neither bond nor free."

The Charleston (S. C.) *Mercury* says that "slavery is a *positive good in itself*, and productive of the most beneficent results to both governing and governed!" The editor comes to the following conclusion:

"The institution of African slavery is every day becoming more and more isolated; and, by consequence, the section in which it exists, and to which it gives prosperity and peculiar characteristics, *is being gradually removed from the pale of sympathy and social intimacy with the rest of the world.* Every where slavery is denounced, and the slaveholder regarded as an inhuman tyrant. What will be the effect of this upon the permanency of the institution, and how should it dispose slaveholders to their outside enemies? The influence of slavery in the National Government has certainly been for a long time on the wane. The last eventful struggle is of yesterday, and the results for ever condemned it to politi-

cal inferiority. A wall has been built up around it, and its vitality must henceforward increase rather by the perfection and energy of its internal organization, than by the expansion of its domain.

"In conformity with this necessity, the South and her cherished institution are steadily advancing in stability and prosperity at home. The once unshorn face of nature now blooms with splendid harvests; the distant valleys are wedded with iron nuptials; earth gives up her buried wealth; each shares the products of all: while year after year discovers new resources, whose development holds up a future of unexampled wealth and power. More than all, and as the legitimate result of incessant vituperation and persecution, her people are learning to regard slavery in its true light; not as a thing of expediency, nor a necessary evil, nor an institution less bad than Northern or British slavery, but as *positively good in itself*, and productive of the most beneficent results to both governing and governed. Sustained and confirmed by this conviction, it has partaken of a higher life, and received a stronger assurance of its perpetuity.

"But if not by the expansion of area, certainly by the diffusion of her grand project, the South is growing more powerful abroad. There is not an additional bale of cotton which leaves our shores, but renders the world more tributary to her labor, and more dependent upon its successful permanency. Defying all competition, whitening the wharves of every port, and clothing alike the peasant and the prince, whithersoever it goes, cotton fights and conquers for Southern slavery. It closes the question by its actual and wide-spread blessings."

The editor of the Richmond (Va.) *Examiner*, in a dissertation on "The Right of Negro Slavery," while he justifies the existence of slavery, feels compelled to admit that its adversaries have hitherto had the best of the debate. He denies that there is any necessity for slavery, and ridicules the idea that the negro in slavery is a happy being. Even, he says, if it could be proved that the slave is physically and morally better off than the day-laborer of other countries, it would not touch the root of the evil. It is interesting to notice how well he reasons:

"The white peasant is free, and if he is a man of will and intellect, can rise in the scale of society; or at least his offspring may. He is not deprived by law of those 'inalienable rights,' 'liberty and the pursuit of happiness,' by the use of it. But here is the essence of slavery—that we do declare the negro destitute of these powers. We bind him by law to the condition of the laboring peasant for ever, without his consent; and we bind his posterity after him. Now, the true question is, have we a right to do this? If we have not, all discussions about his comfortable situation, and the actual condition of free laborers elsewhere, are quite beside the point. If the negro has the same right to his liberty and the free pursuit of his own happiness that the white man has, then we commit the greatest wrong and robbery to hold him a slave—an act at which the sentiment of justice must revolt in every heart—and negro slavery is an institution which that sentiment must sooner or later blot from the face of the earth."

After stating the question thus, the *Examiner* boldly asserts that "the negro has no such right—BECAUSE HE IS NOT A MAN!"

The South occasionally derives assistance from persons in free States in defense of their "institution." In the April No. of "*Hunt's Magazine*" is an article entitled "Moral Benefits of Slavery." The author offers the following apology for the appearance of such an article in a mercantile journal:

"Slaves are considered and used as merchantable property by nearly one half of the States, and are guaranteed in such use by the Constitution of our Government; hence, any information respecting it would be parallel with information respecting any other species of property."

That a writer holding such views should be found in the city of New-York, with many of whose citizens "the ledger is their Bible, and Mammon their God," is not surprising; but what excuse can the editor of the Magazine offer—himself a professed Free Democrat—for sullyng his pages with such an essay? Does he dread the loss of patronage on the part of Southern subscribers if he refuses their lucubrations more than he fears the loss of patronage on the part of Northern subscribers in consequence of their disgust with such subserviency?

British subjects also, we are sorry to say, too frequently contribute their aid in fostering a system held in just abhorrence by a majority of their own countrymen at home. A Professor Austed has undertaken, in the London *Times*, to apologize measurably for American slavery: and his essays are circulating extensively in this country. He has visited our Southern States, believes immediate emancipation would be disastrous, and considers the slaves, on the whole, generally adapted to their condition. At the same time he slanders the runaway slaves who (have) escaped into Canada, who are, he asserts—in contradiction to well-attested facts—"found to be idle, useless, and unimproving in every sense of the word." We must, however, do him the justice to say, that, in some respects, the learned geologist makes a true statement of the "profit and loss" of slavery. He speaks of the universal inefficiency of slave-labor; asserts that slavery is in six, at least, of the slave States (the most northern) both unnecessary and uneconomical, resting as a virtual mortgage, to the full amount of capital it absorbs, upon the lands and productive capacities of the States which tolerate it. He is for gradual emancipation, and thinks it would conduce to the welfare of the country.*

All Southern men do not reason as those to whom we have referred, or as do their Northern or transatlantic allies, on the subject before us.

A letter-writer of *Louisville*,† Ky., says:

"I have just read in the *Era* the noble speech of Charles Sumner on the Fugitive Slave Law. . . . After reading it myself, I handed it to one of the ablest men, and one of the most eloquent writers in the State. On returning it, his emphatic reply was, '*Perfectly unanswerable*.' On speaking of it to another friend, I remarked that I intended to send for fifty copies of the pamphlet edition. 'Put me down for fifty more,' was the immediate response. . . . Every political paper and every stump speaker in Kentucky are now discussing slavery

* We have often marvelled at the course taken by Englishmen, after they have partaken of the proverbial hospitality of American planters, and by many who have taken up their abode in our free States. Their abolitionism seems to slide off as easily as the skin of a certain animal. All are not such.

† *National Era* of September 23, 1852.

in some of its relations, to the exclusion of almost every other matter. . . . It is my firm conviction that if this subject of slavery is not treated in a more rational and conciliatory manner by the leading statesmen of the South in time to come than it has been for the last few years, we shall soon have but two parties in our country—a pro-slavery and an anti-slavery party.”

A SOUTHERN AGRICULTURAL CONGRESS has been invited by the Southern Agricultural Society of Georgia, for the general improvement of the Southern States, and for the following specific purpose :

To assist in bringing the South in direct commercial intercourse with distant countries; and to cultivate the aptitudes of the negro race for civilization, and consequently Christianity: so that by the time that slavery shall have fulfilled its beneficent mission in these States, a system may be authorized by the social condition of that race here, to relieve it from its present servitude, without sentencing it to the condition of the free negroes of the North, and West Indies.”

It will be perceived that slavery is publicly recognized in the above address as a temporary system, and freedom as the natural and permanent condition of the negro race. It is the first time within our recollection that a disposition has been manifested on the part of the South generally to contemplate emancipation as an ultimate fact to be brought about by systematic effort. There is progress in the South.*

A slaveholder, writing from Cornersville, Tenn., paints slavery in the following colors :

“You are an Anti-slavery man. So am I. I was born an heir to slaves. So was my wife. We were raised and have lived among them. . . . It is a most unlucky thing for us that slavery is among us. On the score of moral and religious good, it is out of the question. On masters, and on the white community generally, the institution, as it exists on our statute books and on our plantations, is a seven-fold evil—the parent of more evils than are enumerated in the Decalogue. I venture to say, that in the slaveholding settlements of Middle and Southern Mississippi, where I have lived for several years, there is not a virtuous young man of twenty years of age. . . . To send a lad to a male academy in Mississippi is moral murder. Now, I have four children, three of them boys. I confess I shall never raise them in a slave State willingly.” †

A person writing from Louisiana remarks :

“The editor of the New-York *Observer* says that the *Southern Free Press* has been an able and earnest defender of Southern institutions, but that he now advocates the passage of a law to prohibit the separation of slave families, and recommends instruction to a portion of slaves that are most honest and faithful. The *Observer* further adds: ‘It was such language as this that was becoming common before Northern fanaticism ruined the prospects of Emancipation!’ It is not so! *Northern fanaticism, as he calls it, has done every thing that has been done for bettering the condition of the slave.*” ‡

* *National Era*, November 4, 1852.

† An ex-Mayor of Huntsville, Ala., once said in our hearing, that, as a general rule, every young man in his State became addicted to fornication at an early age. A distinguished lawyer, who is now living and an elder in the Presbyterian Church in a Southern city, remarked to us some years since: “It is impossible to bring up a family of children virtuously in a slaveholding community.” Another person, now a minister of the gospel, who was born and educated in a slave State, remarked that “the slave States are Sodoms, and almost every village family is a brothel.”

‡ *National Era*, October 7, 1852.

While such honorable testimonies from the better class of Southern citizens are cheering the hearts of Northern Abolitionists, the strongest expressions of contempt from even the bitter opponents of Abolitionists at the South are poured upon the heads of Northern serviles, whose sordid mercenary instincts cannot be concealed, nor escape the scorn of all classes without the pale of their own narrow circle.

Witness the following :

The merchants, principally in New-York, have subscribed \$7,000 as a remuneration for the judicial robbery perpetrated by Judge Paine, in the notorious *Lemmon Case*. Does any one South believe that these *ostensible sympathizers* were moved with a spirit of justness and benevolence, or rather was it not an impulse sprung by the thought of commercial gain? Do we infer that they looked to any other fact than that such a just indignation would get hold upon Southern merchants as would drive them to Charleston or Savannah to trade, in place of New-York? Such would have been the case, and they, foreseeing this withdrawal, have attempted to repair the injury by the remuneration of a few thousand dollars.—*Montgomery (Ala.) Times*.

"A Virginian," in one of the daily papers, among several objections to anti-slavery effort, and hard thrusts at Abolitionists, utters the following condemnation of a system that finds so many advocates in his State :*

"I have asked no man what he thought about it, [slavery.] I know that all who are not unduly prejudiced must feel in their hearts that the institution, as it now stands, is morally wrong. . . . Slavery, as our laws allow us to use it, is a crime. . . . There has been a marked improvement in the condition of slaves within the last few years, but there is ample room for more. . . . The laws of the land should protect the negro. He should figure above the brutes in the statute books of the greatest nation under the sun. If he be ill-treated by the mortal who holds his body and soul in bondage, the laws of our great republic should allow him to appeal some where for protection. This heart-sickening 'negro-trading' should be put down. The horrible practice of collecting them in dens should be put down. The iron-hearted trader should be made amenable to the law for severing those holy ties which his brutal nature cannot be made to understand. The member of the Church who almost starves them should be punishable some where on earth. The respectable citizen who half clothes them should be closely overlooked by the law. We should no longer heed the plausible cry of interest, interest! The law of interest is no more sufficient to protect the poor slave than it is to protect the cow, or the horse, or the children, or the wife! The law of interest cannot make a humane man of a brute; neither does it keep a man sober; and the poor slave is his property, drunk or sober. Considerations of self-interest have very little weight with a drunken enraged master, or with a brutal exasperated overseer—or, indeed, with many who are neither drunk nor exasperated. When even the death-penalty shall prevent every murderer from striking the fatal blow, then we may begin to talk about an enraged man being a law unto himself! Then we may talk about a brutal overseer, away in some lonely plantation, as likely to be a law unto himself!"

The same writer proceeds to say :

"I must say, with all due deference to Mrs. Stowe, that sometimes negroes are lazy, ungrateful, wicked, and provoking; and I must also remark to that mouthpiece of the Southern fair, Mrs. Tyler, that Southern ladies are not always

* See *Tribune* of April 22 and 23, 1853.

'amiable and domestic.' Some of them (alas! that I should say it) are real viragos, and make no more of giving a negro man nine-and-thirty with a cow-hide, than they do of taking a chew of tobacco. Some of them are indolent, fashionable, and fond of pleasure, and careless alike of husbands, children, or slaves. Men and women are men and women every where. They are high-tempered and meek, brave and cowardly, cruel and humane, brutal and refined, from zone to zone, and should be governed accordingly."

The editor of the New-York *Tribune*, to whom the above was addressed, remarks:

"A Virginian' claims that the slave's average condition has been very sensibly meliorated within a few years past, and now tends towards still further improvement. We believe this is true, and we further believe that this same improvement finds its main cause in that very 'agitation' which our friend, with the entire South, so pointedly condemns. Had there been no Abolitionists at the North, there would have been no such improvement at the South. Even now, let a slaveholder abuse and torture his slaves, and the first thought of his neighbors is, 'What a handle the Abolitionists will make of this! What a noise it will make at the North!' And so the whole slaveholding class is bound to repress or conceal outrages upon slaves by their masters, for reasons which would have little force if there were no Abolitionists. And one of the fruits we noted of Mrs. Stowe's novel was a suggestion in *The Southern Press* that some improvement should be made in the laws regulating the internal slave-trade.

"That the masters can do more for the slaves than all others—that they are generally kindly disposed towards them—no one disputes. 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' fairly represents the feelings of the better class of slaveholders in the character of St. Clair. But men educated as they are, hate to be esteemed 'fanatical'—hate to set up for reformers, or seem to assume a philanthropy which is a reproach to their neighbors. So they glide indolently along through life, loathing slavery, execrating it, yet still persisting in it. The shock which will emancipate them from this apathy must come from without: the electricity is even now condensing in the calm, transparent sky. And whenever the day shall have palpably arrived to demand the abolition of slavery, (which never stood stronger than it will seem to stand just before its fall,) ten thousand voices will be raised in its condemnation at the South by men never before suspected of Abolition sentiments; and among all the auspicious results of emancipation, there is none that we shall more heartily rejoice over than the liberation of the Anti-slavery sentiment of that section from the terrorism that now stifles and falsifies it."

That such anticipations are not chimerical or preposterous, may be inferred from facts like the following:

EMANCIPATION—SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT.—The New-York *Tribune* says, "We are sure many will hear with pleasure what we learned during a recent sit-down with our old friend and fellow-laborer, C. M. Clay, that the emancipation of his slaves, some eight years ago, has, quite unexpectedly to him, proved a profitable operation. Having been an extensive stock-rearing farmer for many years previously, and being every way surrounded and hedged in by slavery and slave labor, he naturally supposed that the liberation of his slaves would subject him to embarrassment and probably loss in his farming operations. But his experience has dissipated all apprehensions. He finds no difficulty in hiring white labor according to his need and at reasonable rates; he hires a portion of his former slaves for wages mutually satisfactory; his farm is considerably improved, and still improving in fertility and productiveness; he cuts more hay, has better pasturage, keeps more cattle and keeps them in better order than formerly; and whereas his farm used to run him in debt, or at least yield him no profit, he is now making money by it."

CAST E.

The prejudice against people of color, as we have already seen, affects them not only in general society, but in the temples of God, and in bodies composed of men professing to be the disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus. We give another instance of this unchristian feeling.

The "Church of the Crucifixion" of Philadelphia has a colored congregation, but the vestry and clergyman are white. The subject of admitting white delegates from this church was debated with great warmth in the Episcopal Convention at Philadelphia, May 21st, 1852. A majority report of the committee recommended that the church should be retained in union with the Convention, with the privilege of sending lay deputies. The minority report from the two objecting members of the committee was then read by Joseph R. Ingersoll, Esq.* The report opposed the admission of lay deputies. Rev. Dr. Hare spoke at some length in favor of the majority report. Rev. Mr. Kirk, in favoring the majority report, elicited a reply from Mr. Ingersoll, in which that eloquent lawyer commented on, "with combined wit and argument, the marked line of distinction, and the irreversible difference between the white and colored races, as a manifest decree of Providence." After an eloquent appeal by Bishop Potter, as previously stated, in behalf of the resolution of the majority, the vote was taken by yeas and nays, with the following result:

The vote was : Clergy, 39 yeas to 35 nays ; laity, 23 yeas to 27 nays. The resolution was lost.

Caste in the Church is the grief of every true-hearted Christian, and the astonishment of even the heathen.

In the Diocese of New-York, as previously stated, a still more inveterate prejudice exists on the part of the white clergy and laity against their colored Episcopal brethren. It existed in the palmy days of Bishop Onderdonk with equal tenacity, as the late esteemed Rev. Peter Williams had frequent occasion to bear witness.

Dr. Pennington, one of the Presbyterian ministers of this city, and at present Moderator of the Fourth Presbytery, composed chiefly of popular white ministers, not being allowed to ride in the omnibuses of the city, is put to great inconvenience in being obliged to walk two or three miles daily from his residence to his study in his church. Loafers, blacklegs, robbers, thieves, and drunkards of all descriptions, provided their complexions are white, are freely allowed the use of those vehicles, but a colored skin, though on a doctor of divinity, is a complete bar of exclusion.

Among decisions of the minor courts, indicating the growth of a more healthful public opinion, we may mention that of the BROOKLYN CITY

* At present Minister of the United States to England.

Court, in March last, by which an omnibus driver was convicted of assault and battery for forcibly ejecting from the vehicle under his charge a colored woman. The defense that the rules of the omnibus proprietors did not allow colored persons to ride inside their stages, was held to be insufficient.

Miss Sarah P. Remond, sister of Mr. Charles L. Remond, the eloquent Anti-slavery lecturer, was recently expelled from the Howard Athenæum. After having purchased a ticket in company with two friends, and delivered it to the doorkeeper, she was quietly proceeding to her seat, when the agent of the company forbade her taking it, and finally pushed her down the stairs. For this outrage, the agent and officer who assisted in the expulsion were brought before the Police Court. Justice Russell delivered an opinion sustaining the equal rights of colored citizens. The defendants were fined a small sum, and the agent adjudged to pay the costs. An action was brought before the Court of Common Pleas for damages, but it was afterwards withdrawn by Miss Remond, on her expenses being paid by the other party, and a stipulation that she should occupy hereafter any seat at the Howard that she may choose to pay for.*

The complainants have acted judiciously in thus asserting their rights before a court of justice; and we hope that our colored friends, in every part of the country, who may be aggrieved in a similar way, will, agreeably to the recommendation in one of the resolutions passed at the Business Meeting of this Society, appeal to the laws for redress.

COLONIZATION.

The friends of the Colonization Society claim that the objects of it are charity and benevolence. If the second article of its constitution, which provides that the object is to colonize free people of color *with their own consent*, had been the real instead of the ostensible design of the Association, and if it had been adhered to, credit might have been given to this claim. But even then, the formation of such a Society, without any solicitation of aid on the part of the free colored population of the country, and against their wishes, might justly have exposed its founders to the accusation of intermeddling and impertinence. Notwithstanding the professed object, the notorious fact that the most influential men who originated the scheme and have managed it have been slaveholders,† and that the most intelligent colored people of the country have,

* Several colored persons witnessed the performances shortly after this, Miss Remond and her friends being of the number.

† It is allowed that, at the beginning and at this day, some benevolent persons, actuated by philanthropic purposes, have aided and do aid the scheme. It has been the policy of the leaders to invite their aid. They knew well that it

from the very commencement of it, unprompted, protested against it, are sufficient to convince every candid mind that something else was intended than the voluntary expatriation of free colored people for their own benefit and the benefit of Africa.

Hatred to the colored race, a fear that the free people of color would disaffect the slaves and render such "property" more insecure, a desire to get rid of them at all events, have been the real motives that originated and have sustained the Colonization Society on the part of the great majority of its supporters, North and South. "It is a plan of the slaveholders to get rid of the free blacks," said Daniel Webster in 1822, "and I will have nothing to do with it." This accorded with the remark of John Randolph, in his speech at the organization of the Society: "The measure proposed would prove one of the greatest securities to enable the master to keep in possession his own property."

The Senate of the United States having under consideration, March 3, 1853, the bill making appropriations for the support of the navy, Mr. Miller, of New-Jersey, submitted the following amendment: "For equipment, maintenance, and supply of an expedition for the exploration of the interior of Africa, eastward of Liberia, and the ascertaining of the resources of that region, and *for the colonization of the free blacks of the United States*, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of the Navy, \$125,000.)* In his speech, he claimed that the republic of Liberia† originated in a company of eighty-six free persons of color, who voluntarily emigrated from this country to the western coast of Africa, February, 1820.‡ But Mr. Charles F. Mercer, one of the originators of the scheme, and now one of the most influential of its advocates, asserts that it originated in a law of Congress to return some recaptured

was necessary to do so, in order to gain the contributions and other aid of Christians in various parts of the country. It was the same policy that induced the nomination of Frelinghuysen and Clay. And it is the policy that induces many a mother to put a nauseous pill into some preserved quince before she offers it to her sick child. Add to this, many persons, at the present time, from political considerations, favor the scheme. Others, no doubt, do it from mixed motives. Some, probably, though we think very few, from a simple desire to benefit the colored people of either continent.

* It is understood that Commander Lynch, U. S. N., has gone to the African coast in the service of the Government. He will land at Liberia, Cape Palmas, and other points, and will pursue his inquiries as far as the river Gaboon, with a view to the ascertainment of such localities as may present the greatest facilities for penetrating to the interior. He will collect information upon which it may be proper hereafter to prepare and combine the forces essential to the success of a complete and useful exploration of the interior.

† From *Liber*, a freed man. This name was given by Mr. Latrobe, the President of the American Colonization Society.

‡ "It commenced a private enterprise, not of gain, but of benevolence. The inducing cause was humanity, the means used, Christian charity."—*Miller's Speech*.

Africans to their native country, one hundred thousand dollars having been appropriated for that purpose; and as this was done during the Presidency of Mr. Monroe, Mr. Mercer insisted that he, in fact, established the first colony on the coast of Africa—Liberia—and in honor and acknowledgment of this, the capital was called Monrovia.*

Senator Miller states that the great objects of the republic are “the relief of two continents from the evils of slavery and barbarism; its grand result, civil and religious liberty to a whole race of men.”† If these are the objects, we wish great success to the new republic. But the welfare of the republic of Liberia and the prosperity of the Colonization Society are two distinct objects. Let the people of color emigrate to Liberia, California or Australia, or Jamaica or Canada, or wherever they choose; they have the same liberty to do so that their white fellow-citizens have. No one can reasonably object to this, in one case more than in the other. But the COERCIVE AND SLANDEROUS POLICY upon which the Colonization Society was founded and is sustained we do object to, on behalf of the people of color, and in the name of Humanity and of Christianity.

Senator Miller, like almost all Colonizationists, vilifies the people of color. In invoking national aid to sustain and protect the free national institutions of Liberia, he says, “we shall accomplish the two grand results contemplated by the friends of African Colonization—the civilization of Africa, and *the removal from this country of that anomalous class of men called free people of color.*” The negro, he says, “feels in his soul that which the white man boldly avows, that *he is an inferior being.*” We shall, in time, cry unto Liberia, he says, “to relieve us from a national curse—a curse from which the dominion of all America, from pole to pole, cannot save us—the national evil of an overgrown and degraded population of *emancipated slaves.*”

This valiant advocate of the Colonization Society and traducer of his colored fellow-citizens, in order to gain the votes of senators to his application for pecuniary aid, apologizes for caste and slavery. “That question”—whether this Government will enter into diplomatic relations with Liberia—“I have no desire to obtrude upon the Senate, and which, whenever presented, *should be treated with reference to our peculiar institutions*, and disposed of in such manner as would be least offensive to the feelings and habits of the people of this country.” Again: “I deny that this successful demonstration in favor of the improvement of the African race can in any manner cast odium upon *our domestic insti-*

* The *Pennsylvanian*.

† We quote from the *printed* speech, as it appeared in the papers. It is said, and we believe on good authority, that only “very little of it” was *delivered* in the Senate.

tutions, or affect the legal rights of the master over his slave; but, on the contrary, this experiment has given to *American institutions of slavery* a MORAL POWER AND SANCTION which neither law nor Constitution could invest them with. . . . The republic of Liberia is a witness of good and not of evil to the institution of slavery in the United States. She bears living testimony to the fact that *the African race has been improved and not debased by servitude in this country.*"

This calumnious attack upon the free people of color, and this craven spirit towards their oppressors, did not have the success contemplated. The slaveholding senators accepted the apology and the calumny, but refused to swallow the bait. Senator Mason, of Va., said: "I know no authority in this Government to recognize any connection with the Colonization Society in any form." Senator Pratt, of Md., was in favor of getting "rid of that description of population," and said, "the very necessity of the thing shows the constitutionality of it." He hoped appropriations would be made "for the purpose of ridding the country of this nuisance to the whole society of the United States."

Senator Chase, of Ohio, said:

I object with emphasis to that feature of this amendment which contemplates the expatriation or "getting rid" of any portion of our population. Not that I object to colonization. [emigration?] That is quite another thing. Let every one who chooses, whether white or black, leave our shores and seek, under happier auspices, happier homes in other lands. But let no man, native or naturalized, guiltless of offense, be driven forth from his country. Compulsory expatriation of any class is an offense against civilization, and incompatible with justice. Let all classes of our population, of whatever complexion and of whatever origin, be dealt with upon the simple principles of right, justice, and humanity. Give every man a fair and equal chance upon the arena of human effort, and, my word for it, you will do more for civilization, more for the improvement of all classes, more for the prosperity and progress of the whole country, than can be accomplished by any scheme of expatriation.

It was moved by Senator Bell, of Tenn., that all that part of the amendment which relates to colonization be stricken out. Senator Miller assented, saying, "All I want is to get the exploration." After being stricken out, the question was taken on the amendment, as amended, when the Senate being equally divided, 21 to 21, the amendment was rejected; in other words, the whole proposition of Senator Miller was rejected, so that all that remains of the matter is—his speech.

A correspondent of the *National Era*, under date of May 28, 1852, says:

Have you seen the account of the annual meeting of the COLONIZATION SOCIETY at Boston this week? It "out-Herods Herod." What scornful and hateful allusions to the free colored people of this country! What love for the colored man—at a distance! Love! It is a pretense. THE COLONIZATION SCHEME IS A LIBEL ON CHRISTIANITY. Our countrymen, colored and white, have an undoubted right to go to any part of the globe, and there is no crime in assisting poor and worthy persons in going to other climes; but this is not colonization as understood and practised by very many of the members of Colonization Societies in

this country. They assert that the colored race is naturally inferior to the white race; that the people of color cannot live here; that they endanger the morals, the tranquillity, and the prosperity of the country. Religious men say this, and therefore unite with politicians in *benevolently* surrounding the free people of color with such influences that, as a choice of evils, they "consent" to go to Africa. Out upon such philanthropy!

Some months since, a fraction of the free colored people of Maryland, under the disguised lead of Colonizationists, made an attempt to commit the free colored population to the scheme of expatriation.* The intelligent people of color took the alarm, held a large meeting in Baltimore, after instituting inquiries, and, with but a single dissenting voice, adopted and published a manly Protest. They declare that while they are not opposed to voluntary *emigration*, nine tenths of the colored people knew nothing of what was being done in their name at the "Colored Colonization Convention," and they disavow and protest against their proceedings.

Hon. Edward Everett, in his address at the Annual Meeting of the Colonization Society, at Washington, Jan. 18, 1853, instead of calumniating the people of color, spoke of them and the African race with respect and commendation. He said several things to which Abolitionists will be far from assenting, but, in other respects, the address was one to which neither they nor the colored people can reasonably object. They do not believe that Liberia was founded "on a political and moral necessity," nor that the Colonization Society has had the agency claimed in abating the slave-trade; but they will heartily concur in the admissions he makes in the following sentences of the disabilities which the people of color suffer:

"Now, Sir, I do not intend to discuss the ground of these jealousies, nor to inquire into the policy of the laws of some States, and the condition of public opinion—often more powerful than law—in others, which make the condition of the free colored man, in all parts of the country, one of inferiority and hardship. In order to meet the objections to the Society, that it recognizes and coöperates with these oppressive laws, and a still more oppressive public opinion, I will admit such to be the character of the legislation and the public sentiment of the country, in reference to the free colored population of the country."

Mr. Everett also says:

"It would, I think, be unjust to urge, as a proof of the intellectual inferiority of the civilized men of color in this country, that they have not made much intellectual progress. It appears to me that they have done quite as much as could be expected under the depressing circumstances in which they have been placed. What branch of the European family, if held in the same condition for three centuries, would not be subject to the same reproach? . . .

"Why, Sir, it is but a short time since we Anglo-Americans were habitually spoken of by our brethren in England as a degenerate and inferior race. . . .

"Paul Cuffee, well recollected in New-England, was a person of great energy. His father was an African slave, his mother an Indian of the Elizabeth Islands, Mass. . . .

"The learned blacksmith of Alabama, now in Liberia, has attained a celebrity

* *National Anti-slavery Standard*, August 12, 1852.

scarcely inferior to that of his white brother known by the same designation. I frequently attended the examinations at a school in Cambridge, at which Beverly Williams was a pupil. Two youths from Georgia, and a son of my own, were his fellow-pupils. Beverly was a born slave in Mississippi, and apparently of pure African blood. He was one of the best scholars—perhaps the best Latin scholar—in his class. These are indications of intellectual ability, afforded under discouraging circumstances at home. . . .

"In the face of facts like these, it becomes us to be somewhat cautious in setting down the colored race in America as one of hopeless inferiority."

We hope the Colonization Society will be as successful hereafter in the selection of orators as they were in the case of the late Secretary of State.

Some persons have been led to imagine that the Colonization Society is, in some sense, a Missionary Society. It is a great mistake. Missionaries of different denominations, especially Methodists, reside there; but the Society itself is not authorized by its constitution to employ missionaries, nor does it enter into its policy to do so. In the many Protean shapes it has assumed, some portions of the public have been misled by its missionary pretensions. As a Society, unless we are greatly mistaken, more trust has been put in the sword than in the Bible.

In an able article in the *National Era* of May 27th, 1852, the editor speaks with deserved condemnation of the "oppressive legislation" of several of the States, and concludes as follows:

"We have a word now for the Colonization Societies. They claim to be the true friends of the colored race. They seek the confidence of the people of color, and reproach them with their hostility. What can they expect? When have they ever condemned these cruel projects of coercive colonization? Professing that their object was the 'colonization of the free people of color with their own consent,' it was especially incumbent on *them* to set their faces as flint against all oppressive and coercive measures. They have not done so. Their members and supporters have been prominent in instituting oppressive legislation; their organs have appealed to it as the strongest argument for the removal of the colored people; while not a resolution has been passed by them in condemnation of it; and yet they affect wonder that the colored man should distrust their friendship, and reject their scheme!

"Let them abandon this Cain-like policy. Let them erect the standard against injustice. Let them openly condemn and earnestly struggle against all legislation calculated to degrade or coerce colored people into banishment. Let them encourage all judicious efforts for their education and improvement. Let them demand the repeal of all proscriptive legislation against them. Then will they have demonstrated their claim to be true friends of the colored race, and their scheme of colonization could no longer be denounced as part of a system of measures leading to the forcible expulsion of half a million of native-born Americans, whatever else might be said of it."

* There are many men who boast of their patriotism at the expense of their humanity. "Perish the whole African race rather than have this glorious Union dissolved!" said an Irish orator in the late *Jane Trainer* case. The editor of the *Lorain* (Ohio) *Argus*, in a burst of patriotic feeling, exclaims: "The dismemberment of this glorious Union, a failure of the grand movement, a demolition of this last great asylum of the oppressed of all nations—*this would be an infinitely greater evil, a curse incomprehensibly more awful than the enslavement of the whole African race.*" Such is the fustian uttered by pot-house politicians, native and naturalized. Probably not a few who stand higher in intelligence, if

When it is said that the Colonization Society was established from selfish motives, to make slave property more secure by ridding the country of freed negroes, and people of color generally, it is not meant that every person who took part in the formation of the Society, or who has contributed to its funds since, was actuated by such a motive. Doubtless there were, and have been since, many persons who favored it, who possessed genuine, though it may be mistaken philanthropy. But it is as clear as the sun at noonday, that the originators and chief supporters of the Society, being slaveholders, aimed to protect their own supposed interests, as the primary object. Many of them avowed it. The idea of benefiting the expatriated, benefiting Africa, or building up a free republic there, was not contemplated, except, perhaps, as incidents.

John H. B. Latrobe, Esq., who succeeded Hon. Henry Clay as President of the American Colonization Society, and who is not at present, we believe, a slaveholder, stated recently at a Colonization meeting in Boston, that thirty-seven years ago, when "a considerable class of free colored men came to exist," the question arose "as to the future exigences likely to occur." He said, "separation was foreseen to be the necessity demanded for the welfare of the colored men," and he might have added, *especially for the security of slave property*. "Out of this conviction arose the meeting which was held (in 1816) to consult about the formation of the Colonization Society. The emergency has greatly increased since that time. That which was then anticipated as a moral and social interest to be calmly provided for, *has come to be a pressing, political necessity of the country.*"

This supposed necessity occasions the coercive policy in the slave States, and the Black Laws in the free States. It occasions the various hardships and wrongs inflicted upon the people of color, in the hope that, as a choice of evils, they will be willing to leave the land of their birth for Africa. Necessity—the plea of tyrants!

ILLEGALITY OF SLAVERY.

It is believed that an increasing class of Abolitionists, including some who are members and supporters of this Society, believe in the illegality of slavery. There are also respectable lawyers in the Whig and Democratic parties, in no way identified with any organized anti-slavery action, who express, in social conversation, their belief in the soundness of those views. The question is admitted to be a momentous one, involving the

not in morals, have so little correct apprehension of philanthropy and Christianity, that they are ready to utter similar sentiments. "Our country, right or wrong," said a celebrated naval commander, whose love of country and of self sprang from the same code. "Myself, right or wrong," he may have exclaimed before he fell on what, by such men, is called "the field of honor."

gravest consequences, and the fact of its discussion belongs to the history of the times. It seems proper, therefore, to state briefly some of the positions of those who hold this sentiment, especially as they complain of being extensively misunderstood. Their argument is, in substance, as follows :

Numberless decisions establish, incontrovertibly, the proposition that "Slavery cannot exist but by *sanction of positive law*."
It is a *fact*, (admitted by leading Southern men, as will be shown, but otherwise shown by a reference to the Constitutions and statutes of the slave States,) that slavery has not the "*sanction of positive law*."

The "Illegality of Slavery" follows.

Slavery has received abundant "recognition" and "regulation" as an existing *fact*, that is *all*.

The Legislatures of the slave States have not looked *behind the fact*. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, in the Somerset case, in 1772, decided that slaves could not be lawfully holden in the British dominions, of which this country *was then a part*. If the Colonial Legislatures, previous to this decision, had enacted statutes by virtue of which slavery had become legalized, it is evident that this decision virtually abolished it, and *annulled* those laws.

Besides this, if the Colonial Legislatures had enacted slavery, the acts would have been void, because in direct conflict with the *colonial charters*, which restricted them to the enactment of laws not repugnant to the "*common law of England*," which admits of no slavery.

Another historical fact is adduced here. During the debates on the African slave-trade, in the British Parliament, William Pitt denied that the *African slave-trade* had ever been legalized. And he quoted from the act of Geo. II., so much relied upon by the slave-dealers, in proof that all compulsory transportation of negroes from Africa had been, under pains and penalties, prohibited. This development turned the scale in the debate.

So then, it is said, slavery was illegal in this country during its colonial condition, and it is demanded:

Has slaveholding become a legal business since?

Did the Declaration of Independence legalize it?

Did the Articles of Confederation legalize it?

Did the Constitution of the United States legalize it?

It is not claimed by any one that either of *those* instruments legalized the traffic in human flesh. How, then, has it become a legalized traffic?

The proposition that slavery exists in the Southern States without the "*sanction of positive law*," it is claimed, can be established upon the testimony of Senators Mason and Bayly, of Virginia.

Pending the so-called "Compromise Measures," Mr. Mason, answering certain objections against the Fugitive Slave Bill, said, first, (in opposition to Mr. Dayton's amendment, by which it was proposed to grant a *trial by jury* to the fugitive,) "A trial by jury necessarily carries with it a trial of the *whole right*, and a trial of the *right to service* will be gone into, according to all the forms of the court in determining upon *any other fact*."

The sequel will show why Mr. Mason shrank from so just an inquiry. "Then, again," said he, "it is proposed as a part of the proof to be adduced at the hearing, after the fugitive has been recaptured, that evidence shall be *brought by the claimant* to show that slavery is established in the State from which the fugitive has absconded. Now, this very thing, in a recent case in the city of New-York, was required by one of the judges of that State, which case attracted the attention of the authorities of Maryland, and against which they *protested*."

"In that case the State judge went so far as to say that the only mode of proving it was by *reference to the statute book*. Such proof is required in the Senator's amendment; and if he means by this that proof shall be brought that

slavery is established by existing laws, it is impossible to comply with the requisition, for no such law can be produced, I apprehend, in any of the slave States. I am not aware that there is a single State in which the institution is established by positive law!"

Again: Mr. Bayly, upon returning home from the Congress rendered immortally infamous by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill, in an address to his constituents, holds the following conclusive language to the same point: "*We all know that slavery was introduced into the British Colonies of America in absence of a statute, and solely under the protection (?) of the common law!*"

Judge Matthews, of Louisiana, in an elaborate judicial opinion, made a similar statement.

The illegality of slavery is also held and maintained by many, on the still higher ground that slavery is incapable of being legalized—on the principle of the common law, that even acts of Parliament, contrary to natural justice, are not to be recognized by the courts as law. Judge McLean, of the United States Supreme Court, says, "*Statutes against fundamental morality are void.*" Blackstone and other writers on the Common Law are copious and explicit to the same point.

Many of those who hold the illegality of slavery, maintain that the Federal Government has full power over slavery in the States. They cite Patrick Henry as having said so—no one controverting his position—in the Virginia Convention for adopting the Federal Constitution.

They also advert to the amendment of the Constitution which says, "No person shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law"—that is, judgment rendered in court. And they remark, that an amendment (like a codicil to a will) overrules, controls, and repeals whatever in the original document was inconsistent with it.

They appeal to the objects of the Constitution as set forth in the Preamble, viz.: "to establish justice" and "secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

They also inquire into the object and the efficacy of the following provision:

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government."

Jefferson (who calls slaves citizens) says, a republican government is one that secures to "every citizen his right in himself, in his property, and in their management."

The Committee do not vouch for the soundness of these views. They simply record the fact, that they are held by a portion of Abolitionists.

THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Once it was supposed that if the slave-trade could be abolished, slavery would speedily be extinct. Elizabeth Heyrick, of England, aided by Andrew Thompson, of Scotland, dispelled this delusion in her powerful pamphlet on Immediate Emancipation, which attracted the attention and influenced the efforts of Wilberforce, Clarkson, and their coadjutors. It seemed a simple proposition that while the market existed the supplies would come of course. And the correlative is obvious enough: destroy the market, and the supplies will cease. Slavery is the market, and the slave-trade furnishes the supply. We have, therefore, expended most of our labor in this Report upon the state of slavery as it exists in this country, but deem it necessary, as an adjunct of that subject, to present the existing state of the slave-trade, for the information of all who take an interest in the subject.

Because the trade is now forbidden by the laws of every Christian and most of the Mohammedan powers of Europe and Asia,* it is quite common to see it stated that the slave-trade is annihilated. It still exists, however, to a frightful extent, and will while slavery exists. A letter-writer in the *National Era* of June 17, 1852, says :

"Speaking of temperance, I am reminded of a sentence in the Annual Report of the American Temperance Union, just published, as follows: 'The AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE, which was destroyed by the efforts of Wilberforce and Clarkson.' Is the respected Secretary ignorant of the fact that, although the slave-trade has been annihilated as it respects England and her dependencies, it prevails extensively under the flag of other nations? I would inform him that Mr. Clay, in a speech in the Senate, said that 'one hundred and seventy-three thousand slaves had been imported into the single province of Rio de Janeiro in 1846-'49;' and he 'presumed that as large a number had been imported into other provinces of the Brazilian Empire, as well as the island of Cuba.' American vessels and citizens are implicated in the slave-trade, and yet it is customary for our writers to say the trade is abolished. Even Mrs. Stowe, in the preface to her admirable fiction founded upon facts, exclaims: 'Thanks be to God, the world has at last outlived the slave-trade!' Would it were so; and would there were no *American* slave-trade!"

The slave-trade has been prosecuted the past year with unwonted vigor. Our own country is far from being free from participating in the horrid traffic. Notwithstanding the foreign slave-trade is deemed piracy on our statute books, and is therefore a fit subject for denunciation by our Fourth of July orators, and declaimers on the floor of Congress, South as well as North, yet so long as an inter-State slave-trade prevails in this country, equally shocking and piratical in a moral point of view, the foreign slave-trade will never be so odious as it is in countries where the practice as well as the theory is wholly on the side of freedom. The *New-York Times* not long since called the attention of its readers to the slave-trade existing in this port, exhorting the proper authorities to use great vigilance relative to vessels clearing for Cuba, and said :

"We learn from a creditable source that *three* Portuguese captains and one Catalan merchant arrived from Cuba by the 'Cherokee' and 'Black Warrior' steamers, and are now in this city making arrangements for dispatching vessels to the coast of Africa to engage in the slave-trade between that coast and Cuba. They have already contracted for three clippers to be built at Baltimore, and are making other preparations in this city.

"It is known that there are in this city several mercantile houses extensively engaged in the slave-trade, and that half a dozen vessels have recently left this and other American ports for the African coast. These vessels clear for some Cuban port, where they never arrive; and being provided with false papers, and sailing under the American flag, they succeed in reaching the coast, obtaining cargoes of slaves, and landing them in Cuba, with the connivance and complicity of the Spanish authorities. Our correspondence from Havana has contained important statements on this subject from time to time."

The attention of the proper officers has been called before to suspicious vessels fitting out in this port, as there was good reason to believe,

* E. Everett's Address before Amer. Col. Soc., Jan. 18, 1852.

for the coast of Africa on slave-voyages; but it is very difficult, owing to our laws, or the interpretation of them by the United States Courts, to procure the conviction of any of the parties implicated. Proof is required that a vessel shall not only be fitted out with water-tanks, such as are never used except on board slave-ships, lumber for false decks, handcuffs in great abundance, etc., but that the vessel has, in some way, actually commenced the illegal traffic. One suspicious vessel was informed against through the agency of a member of this Committee, and sufficient proof offered, but the competent authority was so dilatory that the vessel went to sea, and in a few months intelligence was received that it had conveyed a cargo of slaves from Africa to Cuba.

Within a few months the schooner *Rachel P. Brown* entered Port Praya under suspicious circumstances, in view of the officers of the U. S. ship *Germantown*, then lying in that port. The Portuguese authorities requested Capt. Nicholas to examine into the matter. A commission was sent on board, consisting of officers of the U. S. Navy. They learned from the mate that the supposed slaver sailed from New-York in December last; that there were five passengers on board, three Spaniards, one Portuguese, and a negro; that the passengers and captain had frequent conversations in the Spanish language, and that the passengers exercised considerable influence over the captain, giving him directions about the working of the vessel, etc.; that one of the passengers was heard to caution the captain about speaking in presence of the crew; and that the mate was never consulted about the working of the vessel. And they found on board a large quantity of rice and other provisions: planks and scantling sufficient to make a slave-deck; bricks and lime sufficient for a furnace, such as are generally used by slavers; two galleys, a large quantity of powder, fire-arms, etc.; rum, empty demijohns, buckets, etc.; a portion of an American naval officer's uniform; bunting sufficient and suitable for a Spanish flag; a large amount of money, and the papers of the vessel. From the register of the vessel it appeared that she had been mortgaged to one Don Jose Percenas, or Perez, who proved to be one of the passengers, and a consignee of part of the cargo.

By consent of the Portuguese authorities, the schooner was brought to Norfolk, Va. A Commissioner of the United States instituted an examination, and the proof of piracy was deemed sufficient to hold the guilty party for trial; but they escaped conviction, as is usually the case in Southern ports, into which our naval officers generally take vessels under such circumstances. When will it be demonstrated to the world that our Government, our naval officers, and our Federal Courts are sincerely desirous of breaking up the African slave-trade, so far as American citizens or American vessels are concerned in it; and that our laws against the foreign slave-trade mean something more than a deference to the opinion

of the world, and granting a monopoly of the nefarious traffic to those interested in the inter State slave-trade of this country?

A correspondent of the *New-York Times*, in writing from Havana, gives the following particulars :

"In November last, Don Jose Perez left for Baltimore to take charge of a ship built in that city for a company of coast-traders recently organized, to proceed directly from thence to the coast—the *Lady Suffolk*, a full-rigged ship of 520 tons burden, built and launched in Baltimore by Adams, Gray & Co. This vessel left New-York November 3d, arrived at Mariel on the 15th, sailed thence for Bahia Honda on the 16th, where two schooners arrived from Havana, bringing her slavery equipments. Same evening she received from Lavana her crew, consisting of seventy men, with guns, etc. The American crew were shipped at New-York for Havana and to return. The steamer *Serena* towed the *Lady Suffolk* thirty miles to sea. It is believed here that the *Queen-Mother* is the largest stockholder of the enterprise. Capt. Gray, who navigated the ship from the United States, delivered his register to the American Consul. All the circumstances were communicated to the Captain-General of Cuba by the proper English officers. The *Lady Suffolk* is to bring a return cargo of 1,200 negroes. The facts, when made known in Havana, are said to have caused a good deal of excitement among the English residents, and Captain Gray and others were arrested on their return from the '*Lady Suffolk*.' They have since, however, been liberated, and that, probably, will be the end of the matter, unless the vessel should be captured. It is notorious that the foreign slave-trade is, for the most part, carried on in American bottoms; but there are no laws to meet such cases as this, nor any will in our Government to enact them."

In March last, Senator Seward offered a resolution in the Senate, calling for dispatches received from our Minister at Brazil, Mr. Schenck, relative to the African slave-trade. Mr. Schenck, like his predecessor, Mr. Tod, has devoted himself to the noble work of suppressing the trade; and we wish it were in our power to say that he had been seconded by the Government of his country. A Washington letter-writer states :*

"Mr. Schenck's friends say he has sent nearly thirty dispatches to the State Department, without receiving an answer to one of them. The following is the substance of his story: In the year 1851, the African slave-trade with Brazil became quite extinct, chiefly through the vigilance of the British cruisers and the Brazilian Government. In the spring of 1852, Mr. Schenck addressed an earnest dispatch to the Department, representing the evident indications of the revival of the traffic. The difficulties which were placed in the way of the importation of slaves had doubled their value in the market. The panic among the traders had subsided, and they were evidently preparing to re-sume their slave-hunting voyages. Mr. Schenck added, that under the existing state of things, no flag was so likely to be prostituted to the protection of slavers as our own; because the traffickers in human flesh knew that it gave them immunity from search on the high seas by any except our own naval police; and we have no war-vessels, or preventive service, on the African coast, that are suitable for the purpose. Still less have we an available guard against the approach of slavers to the Brazilian coast, where they find a market.

"The American squadron at Brazil consisted of the frigate *Congress* and the sloop-of-war *Jamestown*, both too large and of too deep draught to follow the slavers fearlessly close in shore, or to run behind the islands and into the creeks, coves and inlets, where the slavers take in their stores, land cargoes, or avoid pursuits. For a long time, during the disturbances in La Plata, the river squadron there and the American slavers had a perfectly free run. The British squadron

* *New-York Times*, March, 1853.

have small and swift steamers for this service, one of which, with a single pivot gun, is worth whole fleets of large ships and batteries of the heaviest metal. Such a vessel has been asked for repeatedly by our Ministers, but in vain. Mr. Schenck repeats the request earnestly. The slave-traders understand the powerlessness of our preventive force, and therefore sail under our flag.

"Two fast-sailing American vessels, the *Camargo* and *Mary Adeline*, were fitted out some time ago at Brazil, and sailed for Africa. The American Minister and Consul were well satisfied of their object, but could get no proof sufficient to detain them. Had one man-of-war been present, they would have been overhauled and searched; but even then they would probably not have obtained proof sufficient to condemn the vessel under the present laws. The investigations concerning these vessels disclosed circumstances sufficiently suspicious to result in the arrest, under the Brazilian law, of Brazilian citizens, whose names in the charter indicated that they were a party, but our laws were powerless.

"Mr. Schenck recommends the following remedies:

"1st. Prohibition by law of all direct trade in vessels of the United States between Brazil and the African coast. This would be a strong measure, but would not affect honest traders, as there is no direct trade between these points, not directly nor indirectly connected with the slave-trade. Even if there were a little disadvantage to commerce, it would be insignificant, compared with the great good which would be accomplished. Horses and cattle have been imported lately from the Cape of Good Hope to Rio Janeiro, and the slave-traders, under the pretext of intending to take a cargo of brutes, provide large stores of water and other supplies for human freights. They ship a few horses, perhaps, and clear at the Cape for Brazil. After getting safely out, they tumble overboard the less valuable animals, and proceed to convenient points to procure bipeds, and then return direct to the Brazilian market. The prohibition of direct trade would prevent these evasions.

"2d. If this is objected to, Mr. Schenck suggests that we might then accomplish something by prohibiting the exportation from Brazil, in American bottoms, of articles suited only or principally for the slave-trade, such as scarlet cloths, cannon guns, gunpowder, rude musical instruments and gew-gaws.

"3d. To prohibit the granting of Consular sea-letters to American vessels sold on the coast of Brazil or Africa, for any purpose except making a direct voyage homeward. This would prevent sham transfers of vessels to evade the laws and get them in the slave-trade under the American flag.

"4th. If none of these measures should be adopted, Mr. Schenck urges an immediate reorganization of the preventive force, and makes an eloquent appeal for the vindication of the national honor, and the fulfilment of our duty to God and humanity, which should no longer be outraged."

We take the following from a Washington paper:*

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN BRAZIL.—It appears that the Brazilian slave-trade has become nearly extinct. This is mainly due to the measures of the Brazilian Government itself, which, of late, has become sincerely and resolutely in earnest to suppress the traffic. The importation of slaves into Brazil, in 1848, amounted to 60,000, and in 1851 to only 3,286, of which 1,096 were captured by Brazilian cruisers, and declared free. During the past year, one vessel, and only one, it is said, is known to have landed a cargo of slaves on the coast of Brazil; and this occurred last June. The Brazilian Government deals very summarily with the slave-traders. Any person found concerned in the traffic, no matter what his rank or condition may be, is imprisoned or banished without ceremony.

A great deal is said about the extinction of the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, but it is notoriously true that it is still prosecuted with great vigor. The following from an English paper will give some evidence of it:

* *National Era*, March 31, 1853.

"Two steamers with 1,000 slaves lately got away from the Gallinas. A large armed slaver, with ten guns and Spanish colors, is reported to be cruising off the Gallinas. H. M. brig Crane, Lieutenant Bonham, had left Sierra Leone in pursuit, and returned on the 11th July. On the same day, H. M. steamer Pluto left for St. Vincent's, Cape Verde, to convey the English mails of the 15th July to Sierra Leone. When cruising off Sherbro, a boat was seen in the river, painted like and supposed to belong to one of our men-of-war; she however turned out to belong to a slave-vessel which passed the Crane at night, with 400 slaves, and got clear. The Governor of Sierra Leone had received information of 1,000 slaves being ready for embarkation within ten miles of Mrs. Lightbourne's factory, in the Rio Pongos, with every preparation made for resistance until the 'stock' leave the barracoons."

Rev. J. Cutler Tefft, of the American Missionary Association, writes from the Mendi Mission House, West Africa, October, 1852,* and gives interesting facts in relation to the suppression of the slave-trade by the late Rev. William Raymond, of the same mission, by the influence of the gospel, in the interior of the country and on that part of the coast connected with the events of which he speaks. The mission was located in the midst of one of the worst slave regions north of the Bight of Benin, in the Sherbro country, but the slave-trade has totally disappeared in that region before the light and power of the gospel, faithfully preached by men of blameless and consistent lives. Rev. G. Thompson, of the same mission, writes, under date of February 15, 1853, and in speaking of other parts of the coast, says: "The slave-trade is *not* dead, though the English cruisers harass the traders very much, and take many vessels. As to our cruisers from the United States, I think they are a mere dead expense. They neither try nor care to put down the slave-trade; and it would be far better for the cause, if every one of them was called home, and kept there."

"A new plan has been suggested for carrying on the slave-trade or something equivalent to it. Messrs. Hyde, Hodge & Co., of London, it appears, have contracted with H. M. Government to furnish laborers from the African coast for the West Indies. Some of the ships of these contractors have gone to the coast of Liberia, and offered an advance of ten dollars for every native who might be induced to emigrate to the West Indies.

"The extinction of the slave-trade had left in the possession of some of the chiefs who have been accustomed to engage in the traffic, large numbers of predial and other laborers; and it is said that certain of the more refractory of these chiefs have been induced, by the offer of this premium of ten dollars—which, by the way, is just about the amount formerly paid for slaves, during the prevalence of the trade—to supply the British contractors with the desired 'emigrants.' It appears, however, that they 'emigrate' as much against their own consent as if they were victims of an ostensible slave-trade.

"In order to prevent the abuses and evils of this philanthropic enterprise, President Roberts has issued a proclamation which we find in the *Liberia Herald*, enjoining a strict observance of the law regulating passports, and requiring, under a heavy penalty, that every emigrant vessel, before leaving the coast, shall go to Monrovia and obtain passports for the emigrants, in order that it may be ascertained whether they be free or constrained."

We earnestly hope that the system of commercial emigration, whether

* *National Era*, April 19, 1853.

of Coolies, Indians* or Africans, to any of the British colonies, will be frowned upon by the British Government. It is a subject fit to engage the watchful attention of philanthropists in every country, being nothing less than forced emigration, or a *quasi* slave-trade.

The attention of the civilized world is now drawn to the increased slave-trade carried on at Cuba. We have room for only one of the cases that are frequently occurring. The correspondent of the *New-York Daily Times*, writing from Matanzas, April 2, 1853, says :

"Don Antonio Capo landed 1200 negroes at Guazima, as I informed you. About 200 were killed in the course of the voyage, in consequence of three several attempts to release themselves. Taking with him the Belgian and American Consuls, the British Consul demanded an interview with the Captain-General Canedo, who affected surprise, and at length ordered an examination of the case. Several persons were arrested and held to bail, notwithstanding the law prohibits bail in criminal cases. It was ascertained the negroes had been invited on board to a feast, and drugged with rum, when the vessel made all sail, and the unfortunate Africans found themselves in the power of the kidnapping ruffians. The Government inquiry ended in fraud and corruption. The defendants delivered 300 of the negroes to the Government, and the bribe was irresistible. The parties to the infamous transaction walk the streets in evident impunity. The whole force of Spanish craft and ingenuity is engaged in practically annulling the treaties, and violating national faith."

The Government of Brazil ordered the suppression of the slave-trade, on the resolute and determined remonstrance of the British Government. The slave-traders in Brazil were alarmed. Instead of desiring, they refused further consignments; instead of slaves, they asked for palm-oil, ground-nuts, and other articles of lawful commerce. "If you are my friend," wrote one, "you will not consign any more slaves to me, for I will not have them on any account." This shows the power of a Government to suppress the slave-trade when once resolved to do it. And if this power has proved so efficacious along 4000 miles of Brazilian coast, how much lighter would be the task of the Spanish Government in Cuba ! There is ample evidence in Cuba that an upright Captain-General can be equally successful. No one ever accused General Valdez, the friend of Espatero and appointed by him, of having his hands soiled by bribes. And during the government of General Concha, the slave-trade in Cuba was nearly suppressed; but he was recalled, and under his successor the slave-trade revived.

* An Havana correspondent of the *Newark Daily Advertiser* has the following, under date of the 14th December, 1853: "There is a wicked commerce just beginning with Yucatan. Young boys are imported and hired out as slaves for a term of years, their owners being allowed to whip them in the same manner as negroes. It seems to me that the Consuls of other nations should prevent this Indian slavery, and our Government ought to insist upon the authorities of Yucatan the discontinuance of such an arrangement as now exists between this island and their country. Indians, no doubt, are troublesome in Yucatan, but selling them into slavery is a very wicked way of getting rid of them."

The British Government has, through its Minister at Madrid, urgently remonstrated, and referred the Spanish Government to what was effected at Brazil through its agency. The London *Morning Chronicle*, a few months since, announced,

"That, through the exertions of Lord Howden, the Spanish Government had agreed to give complete liberty, before the end of the year, to that class of negroes called *emancipados*,* after the completion of their five years' *consignacion*, or apprenticeship. Those *Emancipados* who, at the end of 1853 shall not have finished the term of servitude, shall be manumitted according as their several probationary periods expire. This measure has been occupying the British Legation at Madrid, one way or other, for the past thirty years."

The British Government, it has long since been surmised, has been remiss in requiring of the Spanish Government a fulfilment of the treaty of 1817, on account of *commercial reasons*. Whether this be so or not, that ancient and powerful Government stands before the world at the present time as a power unwilling or unable to enforce its treaty with Spain. England sends out cruisers, ambassadors, judges of mixed courts, consuls; carries on able diplomatic correspondence, incurs enormous expenses, professes to be anxious to put an end to the slave-trade; and yet the imbecile Government of Spain—nay, the Captain-General of Cuba—sets that proud and gallant nation at defiance, wheedles and coaxes her agents, and promises to execute the treaty, but meantime openly and shamelessly, with the British lion at her gates, introduces into Cuba thousands of Africans every year, in violation of her plighted faith, and in contempt of the British nation. How long will the people of England permit their Government to be thus supine, and their own honor thus tarnished?

* Persons emancipated, or of right free. Different classes of negroes in Cuba are designated by the terms, Bozals, Ladinos, and Emancipados. The following definitions are furnished us by a learned gentleman, familiar with the Spanish language:

"Bozal is not a Spanish word. It is probably an African term, and means an African born. Ladinos is a Spanish word, and means, in its original sense, a person who speaks the Spanish language. By accommodation it means a negro who has been a long time in Cuba. *Emancipados* means a person emancipated or of right free. The distinction between Bozal and Emancipados is this: Bozal means an African, whether bond or free, and Emancipados an African or Cuban negro not in a state of slavery. If a Bozal has proved that he has been introduced into the island, contrary to the treaty—if an African recently imported has been apprenticed for a term of years, he is an Emancipados."

The term Emancipados, then, embraces all negroes introduced from Africa since 1820, who are legally free by the treaty of 1817 negotiated by Lord Cowley, as well as all who have been seized *in transitu* from Africa by British and Spanish cruisers, since the anti-slavery treaty of 1817; and of course their natural increase is, upon every principle of civil and international law, entitled to freedom. In June, 1844, the *Emancipados* were calculated to number from 15,000 to 20,000. It is believed that upwards of TWO HUNDRED THOUSAND of the slaves of Cuba are, by treaty, free.

WORKINGS OF EMANCIPATION.

The friends of emancipation in the United States have been disappointed in some respects at the results in the West Indies, because they expected too much. A nation of slaves cannot at once be converted into a nation of intelligent, industrious, and moral freemen. If, when emancipation took place, British philanthropists, with the coöperation of the British Government, had deputed suitable agents to introduce an economical system of agriculture, with the necessary helps; if schools had been every where established; if the newly-created freemen had been aided in their efforts in other respects to sustain themselves; if the white inhabitants had cordially coöperated in advancing the interests of the colored population; if the sugar act had been framed so as to protect the free sugar of the colonies; if the owners of the soil had divided their property into small farms, and let the land on fair terms to the new free laborers; if adequate wages had been secured to laborers; if the governments of the islands had been supported on principles of economy; if the authorities and the ministers of religion, and the influential part of the white population had set an example of simplicity, temperance, and industry, the blessings of emancipation would be more apparent, and the enemies of freedom have had less cause to exult in what they have falsely called the failure of West India emancipation.

EMANCIPATION HAS BEEN A BLESSING, nevertheless, not only to the emancipated, but to the proprietors, the inhabitants, and the world. The fact that about three times as much of the exports of this country are consumed in the West Indies now, as were consumed in the days of slavery, is one that speaks loudly and unequivocally in favor of emancipation, especially to commercial men. In the *National Era* of November 11th, 1852, the testimony of distinguished residents in Jamaica was adduced to account for the distress that has prevailed on that island, and in proof of the blessings of emancipation. It should be borne in mind that previous to emancipation the British Islands were on the brink of ruin. The original disease was slavery, and its virus will be felt for a generation or two. The Emancipation Act saved the islands from bankruptcy and ruin; and we doubt not, when the proprietors and emancipated come to a true understanding of their reciprocal relations—especially when an economical government, education, and Christianity are properly introduced, these islands of the sea will blossom as the rose.

The Governor of BRITISH GUIANA, in his speech on the opening of the Combined Court, stated that "the progress of the colony in every way has been satisfactory since the last meeting of the Court." The export of sugar during the last year nearly reached 56,000 hogsheads, showing

an aggregate increase in the course of the last two years of about fifty per cent. over the crops of 1849 and 1850. Even this fact is a less gratifying sign of improvement than the continued diminution of crime, and the orderly conduct and increased industry of the laboring class generally.

JAMAICA.

An angry strife has existed some time between the Legislature and the Governor-General of Jamaica, on account of difference in opinion respecting the best policy to be pursued, and meantime the agricultural and commercial welfare of the island materially suffers. Instead of jointly putting their shoulder to the wheel, and urging on the "car of emancipation," they appear to be paralyzing the resources of that once flourishing island, and still flourishing island in many respects. It has sometimes seemed as if, in the course that has been taken by the Home Government, the Governor-General, who receives his appointment from the crown,* the local Legislature, and the proprietors, there was a conspiracy to render abortive the blessings of emancipation, and the welfare of all concerned in the prosperity of the island. That affairs are so prosperous as they are, in such a state of things, shows the natural resources of the island, and the comparative prosperity of the working part of the inhabitants. The golden days of Jamaica will return, its intelligent people say, when proprietors make the island their home, when they apply themselves to useful industry, when they pay fair wages of labor, when temperance becomes the order of the day, when the Government is administered on economical principles, when the capabilities of the island are developed, when education, morality and Christianity are honored and observed, and when the motto of all in posts of influence and power is, *SALUS POPULI EST SUMMA LEX.*†

A missionary‡ at the island writes as follows:

"Marriage is much more common than formerly, and the blessings of the family and social relations are much more extensively enjoyed. The Sabbath is also more generally observed. . . . The means of education and religious instruction are better enjoyed, although but little appreciated and improved by the great mass of the people. It is also true, that the moral sense of the people is becoming somewhat enlightened. . . . But while this is true, yet their moral condition is very far from being what it ought to be. . . . It is exceeding dark and distressing. . . . Licentiousness prevails to a most alarming extent among the people. . . . The almost universal prevalence of intemperance is another prolific source of the moral darkness and degradation of the people. The great mass among all classes of the inhabitants, from the Governor in his palace to the peasant in his hut, from the bishop in his gown to the beggar in his rags, are slaves to their cups." . . .

The writer considers the adult population, so long the victims of long

* The Governor-General has a salary of \$48,000, paid by the inhabitants.

† "To consult the welfare of the people is the chief good."

‡ Rev. Mr. Richardson, of the American Missionary Association.

years of oppression and degradation, as a less hopeful class for the missionary to exert a good influence upon than the young. He says :

“Our brightest hopes and fondest anticipations must and will centre around the youth of this island. . . . I see the hand of Providence steadily urging onward, with resistless might, the car of Progress. Gaunt Prejudice and grim Superstition gradually give way ; Darkness and Error recede before the sunlight of Truth ; and even the demon of Lust and the giant Intemperance (twin-brothers in Satan's family) are bereft of their power, and chained for a season. I see intelligence, purity, and piety supplanting ignorance, licentiousness, and irreligion, and this moral waste becoming transformed until it blooms and flourishes as the garden of God.”

Another missionary, Mr. Wolcott, writes as follows :

“It is not too much, even now, to say of the people of Jamaica, in the language of another, ‘Their condition is exceedingly degraded, their morals woefully corrupt.’ “But this must by no means be understood to be of universal application. With respect to those who have been brought under a healthful educational and religious influence, *it is not true*. But as respects the great mass, whose humanity has been ground out of them by cruel oppression, whom no good Samaritan hand has yet reached, how could it be otherwise? We wish to turn the tables: to supplant oppression by righteousness, insult by compassion and brotherly-kindness, hatred and contempt by love and winning meekness, till we allure these wretched ones to the hope and enjoyment of manhood and virtue. For them and for their children we ask for help, for them we pray.”

NEW-GRENADA.

It is said that important improvements have been adopted by the Government within the last two or three years ; among them, the following :

“The law which declares free all the slaves in the Republic, and indemnifies the master. This law was demanded by a vast majority of the people, and though it did not encounter the obstacles existing in some other countries, because of the small number of slaves and the low price of labor, the claims of reason and Christianity still had their opponents.”

DUTCH COLONIES.

The *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter* states that they have received highly interesting facts relating to slavery in the Dutch colonies, in a letter dated Utrecht, 13th April, 1853 ; but cheering as is the assurance of a decided change of public opinion there and in Holland, and however encouraging the prospect of approaching abolition, we fear that the actual condition of the slave population is very deplorable.

The letter-writer says :

“As for the Anti-slavery cause in general, I may inform you, with some satisfaction, that since my friends and I began to plead it, about thirteen years ago, we have made great progress. To speak of emancipation was then generally disapproved of. We met commonly with ridicule or reproach. Slavery was considered necessary for our colonies, and it was thought dangerous to represent it as inhuman and unlawful. In the colonies, to speak of emancipation was not allowed. Now, public opinion is thoroughly changed. Anti-slavery men are no longer laughed at, and few persons continue to defend slavery. Even the necessity of emancipation begins to be avowed, and in the colonies the owners and

planters wish it. The colonial newspapers contain, from time to time, articles to demonstrate the impossibility of continuing slaveholding. The Ministers and the States-General have already pronounced, more than once, that slavery must be abolished; the only question is, how soon and in what manner.

"In our East Indian colonies the number of slaves is very small, and they are all domestic. A rapid diminution by voluntary emancipation has taken place, which is favored by public opinion. Another mode is also frequently employed, and seems to grow general, viz.: that the slaves are permitted to buy themselves. Many examples of it are related in the Java papers, and the bargains are made for such trifles that the auctions are evidently a mere form. Owing to a sort of tacit convention, no body bids when the slave offers, perhaps, only a few guilders to buy himself. Sometimes, too, they are bought with the avowed intention of setting them at liberty, and in this case also all other persons abstain from bidding. So we may hope that, even without a law, slavery will disappear very soon in these colonies.

"In the West Indian colonies, the last Governor, Baron Van Raders, succeeded at last in persuading the owners that they ought to prepare their slaves for freedom. He told me himself that a great improvement had taken place; that the Spanish lash was no more known amongst the planters, and that the mortality of the slaves has much diminished. The influence of Demerara, and of Guiana, where the English and French negroes are free, grows irresistible for the Dutch. So we may expect that in a short time also in these colonies slavery will cease. We should wish to hasten this great step for the sake of religion, justice, and humanity, and I can assure you that I would not neglect any opportunity to plead that sacred cause.

"'Uncle Tom's Cabin' is much read, and is translated in this country. It makes great impression, which I hope will have a salutary effect on our legislators, who must soon discuss the bills on the colonies."

ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY OF CANADA.

We have before us the Second Annual Report of this Society, by which it appears that our neighbors proceed in their philanthropic labors with untiring zeal. They have employed Rev. S. R. Ward* to visit different parts of the country, to remove erroneous impressions in regard to the question of slavery, to excite a deeper interest in behalf of the slave, and to produce still greater and more beneficial results in the future. Mr. Ward appears to have been very assiduous and successful in his agency. Rev. Dr. Willis, also, the President of the Society, during a visit to Great Britain and Ireland, vindicated American Christian Abolitionists from unjust aspersions, and enlightened the Abolitionists of the mother country as to the true position of the friends of the slave in the United States.

The churches in Canada have continued to express their sympathy with the fugitive slave, and to bear testimony against the sin of slavery.

THE LADIES' ASSOCIATION for the Relief of Destitute Colored Fugitives have continued, with unabated zeal, in their most praiseworthy efforts. The ELGIN ASSOCIATION continues to prosper, and the number of families of colored persons settled on the lands of the Association is

* Mr. Ward is now in England, having been deputed by this Society to represent them there, and to solicit the aid and cooperation of transatlantic friends.

increased, while progress has been made in education and religion. The BRITISH AMERICAN INSTITUTE, formerly the Dawn Institute, the object of which is "to assist the refugees from American slavery to obtain permanent homes in Canada, and to promote their moral, social, physical, and intellectual elevation," remains *statu quo*. The REFUGEES' HOME SOCIETY has purchased 1328 acres of land, and of this about 600 acres have been taken up by fugitives from slavery. The Report says: "We consider the aim of the Society a good one, but its success or failure depends almost entirely upon the manner in which its affairs are managed. The eminent success which has attended the Elgin Association proves that success is attainable."

Much good has been effected, it is stated, by the labors of missionaries under the American Missionary Association at St. Catherines, Amherstburg, Mount Pleasant, New-Canaan, and Windsor. We are highly gratified with the Report of the Society of Canada, most thankful for the aid afforded the panting fugitive, and cordially respond to all that has been done or promised in aid of efforts to extinguish the foul blot that rests upon this country.

FOREIGN SOCIETIES AND FOREIGN EFFORTS.

IN GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND, Anti-slavery Societies still exist, and are conducted with their usual vigor. The BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY issues a new series of its *Anti-slavery Reporter*, conducted by its new Secretary, Lewis Alexis Chamberouzon, Esq., successor to the late able Secretary, John Scoble, Esq., who has resigned and taken up his abode in Canada. Mr. Scoble served the Society upwards of twenty years, and retires with very flattering expressions with regard to his ability, zeal, fidelity, and success in the office he so long filled. The other Societies in existence are *The Glasgow Emancipation Society*, *The Glasgow Female New Association*, *The Glasgow Female Anti-slavery Society*, *The Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society*, *The Perth Ladies' Anti-slavery Society*, *The Bristol and Clifton Ladies' Anti-slavery Society*, *The Leeds Anti-slavery Association*, *The Manchester Anti-slavery Society*, *The Dublin Anti-slavery Society*, and *The Cork Ladies' Anti-slavery Society*. They circulate tracts and appeals, disseminate information, contribute to the anti-slavery bazaars in the United States and Canada, keep up a correspondence with Abolitionists in other parts of the world, send friendly remonstrances to the people of the United States, and contribute in various other ways to foster and increase an anti-slavery sentiment at home and in foreign lands. A neat paper has recently been commenced in London, entitled "*The Anti-slavery Advocate*."

An Address on Slavery and the Slave-trade from the London Yearly Meeting of Friends has been presented by a deputation to several of the sovereigns and others in authority in Europe. It has also been presented to the Emperor of Brazil, and circulated extensively in that empire. Within a short period the London Meeting appointed William Foster, Josiah Foster, William Holmes, and John Candler to present the Address to the President of the United States, the Governors of the several States, and others in high stations in this country.*

The Abolitionists of the United States owe a great debt of gratitude to their transatlantic brethren for their active and persevering labors in the cause, for their friendly and faithful expostulations with the people of this country, and especially for the distinguished but well-merited honors they have awarded to our esteemed and talented countrywoman, Mrs. Stowe, during her present visit to England. The "Penny Offerings" so freely bestowed will, in her hands, be made productive of great good to the colored population of this country, and the Anti-slavery cause.

SOCIETIES IN AMERICA.

In speaking thus of foreign Societies, we would not omit to mention the other Anti-slavery Societies in this country, the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, the MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, the ROCHESTER (N. Y.) LADIES' ANTI-SLAVERY SEWING SOCIETY, and other Associations for the prosecution of the Anti-slavery cause, which they conduct on such principles as appear to them most desirable for the accomplishment of the great work all Abolitionists profess to have in view, the speedy and total overthrow of American slavery. While we have our own views of duty, we impugn not the views of others while they sedulously adhere to the anti-slavery principles avowed.† Neither are we very careful to defend ourselves against imputations, especially from those in the anti-slavery ranks. If others perform more good service to the cause than ourselves, we would rejoice in it, and heartily wish that, while such a foe is in the field, instead of lavishing encomium or bestowing censure upon one another, the motto of all should be, LET OUR OWN WORKS PRAISE US.

SUCCESS OF ANTI-SLAVERY EFFORTS.

In taking a review of the Anti-slavery struggle, we are aware that pro-

* The deputation are expected to leave England in August this year.

† We fully coincide with our esteemed friend, John G. Whittier, in the following: "While our own course should be regulated by our individual convictions of duty and sense of the fitness of things, we should cultivate kind feelings towards those who, sharing our sentiments, manifest them in forms of action different from our own. Let the time past suffice for apologies or disclaimers in respect to our fellow-laborers. If our neighbor casts out devils after a fashion of his own, let us not stop by the way to criticise his *modus operandi*."

slavery men every where affect to decry anti-slavery effort ; that they pretend that Abolitionists have retarded, instead of advancing the cause of emancipation ; that they have jeopardized the best interests of the country, well-nigh brought about a dissolution of the Union, and are a " pestilent sect." Similar accusations and reproaches have been made in other times. Wilberforce, Clarkson, Sharp, Buxton, and their associates who adopted similar principles and pursued similar measures, were misunderstood and vilified in their day. Like them, we appeal to posterity and to God.

Reasonable men in slave States often bear witness to the excellent results of anti-slavery agitation, to the good already effected by anti-slavery effort, and to the immense good in prospect if Abolitionists persevere in their labors with a true Christian spirit. And tens of thousands in the free States rejoice in having been brought, by the instrumentality of anti-slavery men, to see their own errors, the dangerous position of the Church and nation, and the true remedy for the evils connected with American slavery.

Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, in taking a retrospect of his Congressional career,* says :

"At that time (1836) few, very few, admitted Congress to possess the constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia ; now no slaveholder denies it. In 1840, our people generally regarded slaves as *property* ; now no man will insult us by pretending that slaveholders and doughfaces convened in Congress, by impotent words, arranged in the form of a Congressional Law, can convert the image of God, containing a living immortal soul, into *property*, and degrade it to the level of a brute. The popular sentiment among us now denies the power of human legislators to sanctify crimes which God has denounced. I am happy in saying that the popular sentiment on this subject of moral responsibility, connected with political action, has also greatly improved. We no longer hear men denounce others for connecting moral principle with their political action ; indeed, the man who now votes without regard to moral duty is considered either an infidel in principle, or wanting a proper appreciation of his obligations to God and man. The tone of our pulpit oratory has greatly changed. We no longer hear preachers of the gospel exhort us to reverence and obey the infamous Fugitive Law ; nor do they now attempt to argue that slavery is a divine institution. No 'lower-law' sermons are now printed and sent over the land, to insult a Christian people. I have not time to speak of the changes in Congress ; of gag-rules ; of trampling upon the right of petition ; of the insults, threats, and assaults upon members who, in former times, advocated the great truths which lie at the foundation of our government. These things have passed away ; they exist now only in history. At no period of the world has popular sentiment been undergoing such rapid improvement as at the present day. The literature of our nation, of England, and of Continental Europe, is putting forth a powerful influence in favor of liberty, of truth, of justice and humanity ; teaching men to follow the precepts of that gospel which speaks peace and good-will to all men—which directs us to do unto others as we would have them do unto us.

"Fellow-citizens, you have not been idle spectators of these changes—of this great reformation which now marks an epoch in the history of the world. You have been active agents in bringing about these encouraging circumstances. For

* Letter to the people of his Congressional District, March 8, 1853.

myself, I desire no other or greater earthly honor than that of participating, though in an humble degree, in this work of regenerating our Government—of separating it from the support of slavery and the slave-trade—of purifying it from the crimes, the guilt, which now rest upon it, and thus far contributing my humble labors for the elevation of our race. It is the cause of God, of humanity; it cannot fail. Truth, present and enduring—eternal justice—constitutes the basis on which it rests. The feeble attempts of man to separate Deity from the beings whom he has created, or to tear from a portion of our race the rights with which he has endowed them, must cease. As surely as God reigns, our cause will triumph. Nor do I think that triumph is far distant.”

PETITIONS TO CONGRESS.

We have been surprised to learn how few petitions were sent to the last Congress on the subject of slavery. Some members, we learn, did not receive a single petition during the whole of the last session. Notwithstanding this, some persons have complained that the Free Democratic members in one or both Houses did not say more on the subject in debate. Scarcely any thing has been more efficacious in advancing the Anti-slavery cause in this country than the agitation of the subject on the floors of Congress. The great agitator, ADAMS, enlightened the minds of his hearers, and of the people, by his array of facts, his arguments, his predictions, his moral heroism. Others have emulated his example. Let it be seen that there is kept up a continual “fire in the rear,” to use the language of ex-Senator Hale, and members of Congress will be emboldened to speak and ready to hear on this momentous subject. To this end, petitions should be circulated throughout the country on slavery, 1. Against slavery in the District of Columbia, as unconstitutional;* 2. Against slavery in the District of Columbia, as discreditable to the nation and wrong in itself; 3. Against the coastwise slave-trade; 4. Against the inter-State slave-trade; 5. Against slavery in new Territories; 6. Against slavery wherever, under the Constitution, the free States are responsible for it; 7. For the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Bill. “Up and at ’em!” was the cry of Wellington at Waterloo. Let us adopt the emphatic language of the veteran in our anti-slavery call to the Abolition host of the United States: Petition, memorialize, remonstrate! All in respectful but decided terms. AGITATION is the life of the cause, and of every good cause. Let it not cease until the American Bastille falls, and the long-imprisoned inmates walk forth into the pure air of freedom, disenthralled, and in full possession of their inalienable rights, “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

* If any one doubts its being unconstitutional there, let him read the speech of Hon. Charles Sumner in the Senate, August 26, 1852. Washington: Buell & Blanchard; New-York: Lewis J. Bates, 48 Beekman street.

OUTLINE OF EFFORT.

At a recent meeting of the Committee, an OUTLINE OF EFFORT was laid before them, and after the consideration due to the importance of the subject, it was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be circulated, according to the discretion of a sub-committee, who should endeavor to raise the sums named for the use of the Society.*

CONCLUSION.

The Committee are desirous of prosecuting the work committed to them, if the friends of the cause will supply the necessary means. They deplore the want of united principle and action on the part of the great body of Abolitionists throughout the country, and earnestly desire that speedily the friends of the slave may be united, as they were at the commencement of the enterprise, on the same principles, putting their trust in God and his revealed truth. They cannot conclude this Report in a manner more agreeable to their own feelings, or the exigences of the cause, than in the words of an early, consistent, judicious friend of the slave:†

"IN OFFERING THESE BRIEF HINTS WITH REFERENCE TO THE ASSOCIATED ACTION OF THE FRIENDS OF FREEDOM, WE DO NOT FORGET THAT THE MAIN RELIANCE OF THE CAUSE MUST BE UPON INDIVIDUALS, ACTING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SPECIAL MONITIONS OF THEIR CONSCIENCES, AND THEIR OWN DISTINCTIVE IDEAS OF DUTY. ORGANIZATION THE MOST PERFECT WILL PROVE BUT A DEAD MACHINE, UNLESS, AS IN THE VISION OF THE ORIENTAL PROPHET, THERE IS 'A SPIRIT WITHIN THE WHEELS'—UNLESS THE HEARTS AND CONSCIENCES OF THE INDIVIDUALS WHO COMPOSE IT ARE MOVED AND ANIMATED BY THE HIGHEST MOTIVE OF HUMAN ACTION—LOVE TO GOD AND LOVE TO MAN."

* This important paper is printed in the APPENDIX, and the attention of the friends of the cause is earnestly requested to it.

† Whittier.

Appendix.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the Society was held in the BROADWAY TABERNACLE, on Wednesday evening, May 11th, the large hall being filled to its utmost capacity.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, Esq., President, in the Chair.

After a voluntary on the organ by Mr. ASAHEL ABBOTT, Rev. A. N. FREEMAN read the following

SELECTIONS FROM SCRIPTURE.

Lord, how are they increased that trouble me! many are they that rise up against me. Many there be which say of my soul, There is no help for him in God. But thou, O Lord, art a shield for me; my glory, and the lifter up of mine head. I cried unto the Lord with my voice, and he heard me out of his holy hill. I laid me down and slept; I awaked; for the Lord sustained me. I will not be afraid of ten thousands of people that have set themselves against me round about.

For the needy shall not always be forgotten; the expectation of the poor shall not perish for ever. The wicked in his pride doth persecute the poor: let them be taken in the devices that they have imagined. . . . He sitteth in the lurking-places of the villages, in the secret places doth he murder the innocent; his eyes are privily set against the poor. He lieth in wait secretly as a lion in his den; he lieth in wait to catch the poor, when he draweth him into his net. He croucheth, and humbleth himself, that the poor may fall by his strong ones. He hath said in his heart, God hath forgotten; he hideth his face; he will never see it. Arise, O Lord; O God, lift up thine hand; forget not the humble. . . . Lord, thou hast heard the desire of the humble; thou wilt prepare their heart, thou wilt cause thine ear to hear—to judge the fatherless and the oppressed, that the man of the earth may no more oppress.

For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him.

Keep me as the apple of the eye, hide me under the shadow of thy wings, from the wicked that oppress me, from my deadly enemies, who compass me about. . . . They are enclosed in their own fat; with their mouth they speak proudly. They have now compassed us in our steps; they have set their eyes bowing down to the earth; like as a lion that is greedy of his prey, and as it were a young lion lurking in secret places. Arise, O Lord, disappoint him, cast him down; deliver my soul from the wicked, which is thy sword.

He shall judge thy people with righteousness, and thy poor with judgment. . . . He shall judge the poor of the people, he shall save the children of the needy, and shall break in pieces the oppressor. . . . For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth; the poor also, and him that hath no helper. He shall spare the poor and needy, and shall save the souls of the needy. He shall

redeem their soul from deceit and violence; and precious shall their blood be in his sight.

Arise, O God, judge the earth. . . . O Lord of hosts, blessed is the man that trusteth in thee.

Mr. FREEMAN then led in prayer to the MOST HIGH.

The Corresponding Secretary read an Abstract of the Annual Report, and the following Resolutions:

RESOLUTIONS

Adopted at the Public Meeting of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society

1. *Resolved*, That it is a subject of congratulation and thanks to God, that, notwithstanding the lukewarmness or opposition the Anti-slavery cause has received from large portions of our countrymen, it has been widely extended and prospered, until it is now the theme of general inquiry, consideration, and solicitude throughout the country and the world, and, in the opinion not only of its friends, but of many of its enemies, destined to certain and complete triumph.

2. *Resolved*, That the destruction of American slavery is retarded by political parties, who, in their strife for the spoils of office, repudiate the principles upon which the government was established; by religious parties, who, for the sake of proselytism and the favor of the world, set aside the first lessons of Christianity and the claims of humanity; by commercial men, who, in their eager pursuit of wealth, trample upon both tables of the Law of God; and by slaveholders, who, in their wilful ignorance of political economy, their disregard of the rights of the enslaved, and their audacious attempts to usurp the prerogatives of the Almighty, run "upon the thick bosses of his bucklers;" and that we owe it to these misguided men, as well as to the victims of their injustice, to persevere in our efforts with unabated zeal and efficiency.

3. *Resolved*, That while it is perfectly consistent with the diabolical policy of the slave States to attempt the prolongation of slavery by increasing the rigors of the Slave Code, trampling upon the rights of the free people of color, and endeavoring to drive them from their native land, the subserviency of the free States to the slave power, in the enactment of oppressive, unrighteous, and unconstitutional statutes, designed to harass and expel this class of citizens from their limits, merits the contempt and execration of every friend of humanity.

4. *Resolved*, That the cruelties inflicted upon the people of color, the attempts to disfranchise them, the numerous persecutions they suffer, and the untold prejudices and disabilities which surround them, are chiefly owing to the spirit of Caste, which obstructs their elevation, and controls the policy of the Colonization Society in driving them to a foreign shore, as a choice of evils; and that, while we sympathize with our insulted and deeply-wronged brethren, we would exhort them to remember that an impartial and just God will fulfil his promises by bringing them out of the "furnace of affliction," and getting them "praise and fame in [the] land where they have been put to shame."

5. *Resolved*, That while it is not a matter of surprise that editors of venal presses pander to the slave power, or that those merchants whose god is Mammon, and whose Bible is their ledger, bow down and lick the feet of Southern customers, or that servile authors, publishers, and booksellers, tremble beneath the frown of Southern despots, it is a cause of grief and astonishment that the AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY and AMERICAN SUNDAY-SCHOOL UNION persist in refusing to publish a sentence on the sinfulness of slavery, while they expurgate foreign publications of sentiments favorable to emancipation before they dare issue them for circulation in the slaveholding States.

6. *Resolved*, That we deplore the fact that the AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS and the AMERICAN HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY continue to sustain missionaries who gather churches composed in part of slaveholders, who are admitted and treated as Christians in good and regular standing, and that the

GENERAL ASSEMBLIES OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, the BAPTIST CHURCHES, the EPISCOPAL CHURCH, etc., invite slaveholders to their membership, hold them eligible to all offices and appointments in their gift—believing, as we do, that this fraternization of men denounced in Scripture as “men-stealers,” and deemed by a large portion of the true Church of Christ to be unworthy of Christian fellowship, is an obstacle to the prevalence of sound piety and the conversion of the world.

7. *Resolved*, That, in the opinion of intelligent patriots and Christians, the advance of freedom, the spread of republican sentiments, and the diffusion of Christian principles, are greatly retarded by the fact that in this “model republic” upwards of three millions of the people are held in ignominious bondage, in defiance of the glorious truths taken from the Bible and put forth in the Declaration of Independence, that all men are made of one blood and are created equal, being endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights—among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

8. *Resolved*, That notwithstanding the discouragements and obstacles that lie in our path, we have unabated confidence in the promises of God, in the efficacy of prayer, in the ultimate coöperation of the wise and good, in the honesty and intelligence of the masses in Church and State, and believe that when once undeceived as to the character and designs of those who have misled them, they will be true to the instincts of humanity, the principles of republicanism, and the precepts of Christianity, and evince their change of feeling and sentiment by discarding the leaders and teachers who will have proved themselves to be unprincipled demagogues and false prophets.

9. *Resolved*, That we have evidence of an approaching change in the masses of religious and political men, in the formation and prosperity of anti-slavery Missionary, Book and Tract Societies; in the more frequent and outspoken sentiments of the religious and secular press; in the multiplication of newspapers devoted to Free Democracy; in the discussion of anti-slavery topics in numerous independent papers; in the rapidly increasing demand for anti-slavery publications, greatly stimulated by the perusal, by so many millions, of “Uncle Tom’s Cabin” and their inspection of the “Key” to the American Bastille; in the labors, prayers, and remonstrances of our Canadian and British brethren; in the attention paid to free-labor sugar and cotton; in the beneficial results of emancipation wherever it has been accompanied with appropriate aids; in the increased number of educated and talented persons of color; and especially in the power of truth, which is mighty, and, with God’s blessing, will prevail.

10. *Resolved*, That our strongholds, under God, are the Bible, the divine charter of civil and religious freedom, and the Constitution of the United States, which contains a recognition by our fathers of the same principles; the first teaching that the Creator “hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,” that He is no respecter of persons, and that He will break the rod of the oppressor; and the second enunciating the glorious fact that it was formed to “establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.”

11. *Resolved*, That the thanks of American patriots are due to the champions of freedom in both Houses of Congress for all they have so nobly done in defense of the rights of man and the principles of true democracy; and that their intrepidity and patriotism will live in history in striking contrast with the abject and reprehensible conduct of those who have gained political elevation, and maintained it, by sacrifices of self-respect, the true interests of the people, and the just renown of their country.

12. *Resolved*, That we trample, as we have heretofore done, upon the execrable Fugitive Slave Bill, which is alike wicked and unconstitutional; that we refuse all obedience to its requirements, and will do all we consistently can to protect and defend our fellow-men when arrested on the charge of stealing themselves, and leave to public scorn and contempt Northern minions who, for the sake of

political advancement or a paltry bribe, seek to deprive men of their inalienable rights.

13. *Resolved*, That slavery and the slave-trade, (both foreign and domestic,) having no foundation in Scripture or law, and being unchristian, inhuman, and piratical, it is manifestly absurd and preposterous for the friends of Christianity to hold religious fellowship with those who are guilty of such enormities, or for the friends of their country to recognize the validity of their acts or practices.

14. *Resolved*, That the desperate efforts of European despots to smother the rising spirit of liberty in the *Old* World have their counterpart in those of American despots to quench the flame of freedom in the *New*; that the struggle is the same in both hemispheres—revealing the course of an under-current already felt, and destined ere long to defy control.

15. *Resolved*, That we invite the active coöperation of the friends of liberty in the great work of redeeming the country from the crime and infamy of slavery; especially do we entreat ministers of the gospel, ecclesiastical bodies, members of colleges and theological seminaries, home and foreign missionaries, teachers of youth, women in every condition of life, and all who earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, beseeching them to remember that slavery degrades honest labor, and ever has been and must be the enemy of thrift, purity, education, republicanism, and religion.

16. *Resolved*, That it be recommended to Abolitionists throughout the country to revive anti-slavery effort, form Anti-slavery Societies and Associations, circulate, far and wide, anti-slavery publications, meet in anti-slavery concerts of prayer, petition State Legislatures and the Congress of the United States for a redress of grievances, vote only for true-hearted friends of liberty, and, in all legitimate ways, agitate the country, East and West, North and South, until the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the precepts of Christ shall be recognized and obeyed, and this nation be, what our forefathers designed it to be, an asylum for the oppressed and a beacon-light for people of all lands who are suffering under tyranny, and panting for personal, civil, and religious liberty.

[Address by REV. CHARLES B. BOYNTON, of Cincinnati, Ohio, was omitted on account of his absence from unavoidable causes.]

The following Song, entitled "Prayer for the Slave," was then sung by the Assembly, rising. TUNE—*Hamburg*.

On let the prisoner's mournful sighs
As incense in thy sight appear!
Their humble wailings pierce the skies,
If haply they may feel thee near.

The captive exiles make their moans,
From sin impatient to be free;
Call home, call home thy banished ones!
Lead captive their captivity!

Out of the deep regard their cries;
The fallen raise, the mourners cheer:
O Sun of Righteousness, arise,
And scatter all their doubts and fear.

Stand by them in the fiery hour;
Their feebleness of mind defend;
And in their weakness show thy power,
And make them patient to the end.

Relieve the souls whose cross we bear,
For whom thy suffering members mourn:
Answer our faith's effectual prayer,
And break the yoke so meekly borne!

Mr. Frederick Douglass then addressed the audience as follows :

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The resolution upon which I propose to make a few remarks, respects the present condition and the future prospects of the whole colored people of the United States. The subject is a great one, and opens ample scope for thought and feeling. I feel a diffidence in undertaking its consideration for two causes: first, my own incompetence to do it justice; and the second is, the peculiar relation subsisting between me and the audience I am to address. Sir, I am a colored man, and this is a white audience. No colored man, with any nervous sensibility, can stand before an American audience without an intense and painful sense of the immense disadvantage under which he labors. He feels little borne up by that brotherly sympathy and generous enthusiasm which give wings to the eloquence and strength to the hearts of abler men engaged in abler and more popular causes. The ground which a colored man occupies in this country is every inch of it sternly disputed. Sir, were I a white man, speaking before and for white men, I should in this country have smooth sea and a fair wind. It is, perhaps, creditable to the American people (and, Sir, I am not the man to detract from their credit) that they listen eagerly to the report of wrongs endured by distant nations. The Hungarian, the Italian, the Irishman, the Jew and the Gentile, all find in this land a home, and when any of them or all of them desire to speak, they find willing ears, warm hearts, and open hands. For these people the Americans have principles of justice, maxims of mercy, sentiments of religion, and feelings of brotherhood in abundance. But for my poor people—enslaved, blasted and ruined—it would appear that America had neither justice, mercy, nor religion. She has no scales in which to weigh our wrongs—she has no standard by which to measure our rights. Just here lies the difficulty of my cause. It is found in the fact that we may not avail ourselves of admitted American principles. If I do not misinterpret the feelings of my white fellow-countrymen generally, they wish us to understand distinctly and fully that they wish most of all to have nothing whatever to do with us, unless it may be to coin dollars out of our blood. Our position here is anomalous, unequal, and extraordinary. It is a position to which the most courageous of us cannot look without deep concern. We are, Sir, a hopeful people, and in this we are fortunate; but for this we should have long before the present seemingly unpropitious hour sunk down under a sense of despair. Look at it, Sir. Here, upon the soil of our birth, in a country which has known us for centuries, among a people who did not wait for us to seek them, but a people who sought us, and who brought us to their own chosen land—a people for whom we have performed the humblest services, and whose greatest comforts and luxuries have been won from the earth by the strength of our sable and sinewy arms—I say, Sir, among such a people, and with such recommendations to favor, we are esteemed less than strangers and sojourners. Aliens are we in our native land. The fundamental principles of the republic, to which the humblest white man, whether born here or elsewhere, may appeal, with confidence in the hope of awakening a favorable response, are held to be inapplicable to us. The glorious doctrines of your revolutionary fathers, and the still more glorious teachings of the Son of God, are construed and applied against us. We are literally scourged beyond the beneficent range of both authorities human and divine. We plead for our rights in the name of the immortal Declaration of Independence, and of the Constitution, and we are answered by our countrymen with imprecations and curses. In the sacred name of Jesus we beg for mercy, and the slave-whip, red with blood, cracks over us in mockery. We invoke the aid of the ministers of Him who came to preach deliverance to the captives, and to set at liberty them that are bound; and from the loftiest summits of this ministry comes the inhuman and blasphemous response, that if one prayer would move the Almighty arm in mercy to break our galling chains, that prayer would be withheld. We cry for help to humanity, a common humanity, and here too we are repulsed. American humanity hates us, scorns us, disowns and denies our personality. The outspread wing of American Christianity—apparently broad enough to give shelter to a perishing world—refuses to cover us. To us its bones are brass and its feathers iron. In running thither for shelter and succor, we have only fled from the hungry bloodhound to the devouring wolf—from a corrupt and selfish world to a hollow and hypocritical

Church; and may I not add, from the agonies of earth to the flames of hell! Sir, this is strong language. For the sake of my people, I would to God it were extravagantly strong. But, Sir, I fear our fault here to-day will not be that we have pleaded the cause of the slave too vehemently, but too tamely; that we have not contemplated his wrongs with too much excitement, but with unnatural calmness and composure. For my part, I cannot speak as I feel on this subject. My language, though never so bitter, is less bitter than my experience. At best, my poor speech is, to the facts in the case, but as the shadow to the substance. Sir, it is known to you, and to many who hear me, that I am alike familiar with the whip and chain of slavery, and the lash and sting of public neglect and scorn; that my back is marked with the one, and my soul is fretted with the other. My neck is galled by both yokes—that imposed by one master, and that imposed by many masters. More than twenty years of my life were passed in slavery, and nearly fifteen years have been passed in nominal freedom. Mine has been the experience of the colored people of America, both slave and free. I was born a slave. Even before I made part of this breathing world, the scourge was plaited for my back, and the fetters were forged for my limbs. My earliest recollections are associated with the appalling thought that I was a slave—a slave for life. How that crushing thought wrung my young heart I shall never be able fully to tell. But of some things I can tell—some things which are incident to the free and to the slave people of this country. Give me leave, then, in my own language to speak freely all that can be uttered of the thoughts of my heart in regard to the wrongs of the people with whom I thus stand associated in the two conditions to which I have thus alluded; for when I have said all, “the half will not then have been told.” Sir, it was once said by that greatest of modern Irish orators, Daniel O’Connell, (a man whose patriotism was equalled only by his love of universal freedom,) that the history of the Irish people might be traced like a wounded man through a crowd, by the blood. That is a most startling saying. I read it with a shudder soon after it was said, and felt, if this were true in relation to the Irish people, it was still more true in relation to the colored people of the United States. Our wrongs and outrages are as old as our country. They date back to its earliest settlement, and extend through two hundred and thirty years, and they are as numerous and as oft-repeated as the days of all those years. Even now, while I speak and you listen, the work of blood and sorrow goes on. Methinks I hear the noise of chains and the clang of the whip. There is not a day, not an hour in any day, not a minute in any hour of the day, that the blood of my people does not gush forth at the call of the scourge; that the tenderest ties of humanity are not sundered; that parents are not torn from children, and husbands from their wives, for the convenience of those who gain fortunes by the blood of their souls. But I do not propose to confine your attention to the details of slavery. They are harrowing to think of, and too shocking to fix the mind upon for any length of time. I rather wish to speak of the condition of the colored people of the United States generally. This people, free and slave, are rapidly filling up the number of four millions. They are becoming a nation, in the midst of a nation which disowns them, and for weal or for woe this nation is united. The distinction between the slave and the free is not great, and their destiny seems one and the same. The black man is linked to his brother by indissoluble ties. The one cannot be truly free while the other is a slave. The free colored man is reminded by the ten thousand petty annoyances with which he meets of his identity with an enslaved people, and that with them he is destined to fall or flourish. We are one nation, then. If not one in immediate condition, at least one in prospects. I will not argue that we are men of like passions with the rest of mankind; that is unnecessary. All know at any rate that we are capable at least of love and hate, friendship and enmity. But whatever character or capacity you ascribe to us, I am not ashamed to be numbered with this race. I am not ashamed to speak here as a negro. Sir, I utterly abhor and spurn with all the contempt possible that cowardly meanness (I will not call it pride) which leads any colored man to repudiate his connection with his race. I cannot say, therefore, as was said recently by a distinguished colored man at a Convention in Cincinnati, that “he did not speak as a colored man,” for, Sir, as a colored man I do speak; as a colored man I was invited here to speak; and as a colored man there are peculiar reasons for my

speaking. The man struck is the man to cry out. I would place myself—nay, I am placed among the victims of American oppression. I view this subject from their stand-point, and scan the moral and political horizon of the country with their hopes, their fears, and their intense solicitude. Standing here, then, and judging from the events and indications of the past few years, the black man must see that a crisis has arrived in his relations with the American people. He is reminded that trials and hardships await him; that the times are portentous of storms which will try the strength of his bark. Sir, it is evident that there is in this country a purely slavery party; a party which exists for no other earthly purpose but to promote the interests of slavery. The presence of this party is felt every where in the republic. It is known by no particular name, and has assumed no definite shape, but its branches reach far and wide in the Church and in the State. This shapeless and nameless party is not intangible in other and more important respects. That party, Sir, has determined upon a fixed, definite, and comprehensive policy towards the whole colored population of the United States. What that policy is, it becomes us as Abolitionists, and especially does it become the colored people themselves to consider and understand fully. We ought to know who our enemies are, where they are, and what are their objects and measures. Well, Sir, here is my version of it; not original with me, but mine because I hold it to be true. I understand this policy to comprehend five cardinal objects. They are these: 1st. The complete suppression of all anti-slavery discussion; 2d. The expatriation of the entire free people of color from the United States; 3d. The unending perpetuation of slavery in this republic; 4th. The nationalization of slavery to the extent of making slavery respected in every State of the Union; 5th. The extension of slavery over Mexico and the entire South American States. Sir, these objects are forcibly presented to us in the stern logic of passing events—in the facts which are and have been passing around us during the last three years. The country has been and is now dividing on these grand issues. In their magnitude these issues cast all others into the shade, depriving them of all life and vitality. Old party lines are broken. Like is finding its like on either side of these great issues, and the great battle is at hand. For the present, the best representative of the slavery party in politics is the Democratic party. Its great head for the present is President Pierce, whose boast it is that his whole life has been consistent with the interests of slavery; that he is above reproach on that score. In his inaugural address he re-assures the South on this point. The head of the slave power being in power, it is natural that the pro-slavery elements should cluster around the Administration, and this is rapidly being done. A fraternization is going on. The stringent Protectionists and the Free Traders strike hands. The supporters of Fillmore are becoming the supporters of Pierce. The Silver Gray Whig shakes hands with the Hunker Democrat, the former only differing from the latter in name. They are of one heart, one mind, and the union is natural, and perhaps inevitable. Both hate negroes, both hate progress, both hate the "Higher Law," both hate Wm. H. Seward, both hate the Free Democratic party, and upon these hateful bases they are forming a union of hatred. "Pilate and Herod are thus made friends." Even the central organ of the Whig party is extending its beggar-hand for a morsel from the table of Slavery Democracy; and when spurned from the feast by the more deserving, it pockets the insult: when kicked on one side, it turns the other, and perseveres in its importunities. The fact is, that paper comprehends the demands of the times. It understands the age and its issues. It wisely sees that slavery and freedom are the great antagonistic forces in the country, and it goes to its own side. Silver Grays and Hunkers all understand this. They are, therefore, rapidly sinking all other questions to nothing, compared with the increasing demands of slavery. They are collecting, arranging, and consolidating their forces for the accomplishment of their appointed work. The keystone to the arch of this grand union of the slavery party of the United States is the Compromise of 1850. In that Compromise we have all the objects of our slavcholding policy specified. It is, Sir, favorable to this view of the designs of the slave power that both the Whig and the Democratic party bent lower, sunk deeper, and strained harder in their conventions, preparatory to the late presidential election, to meet the demands of the slavery party than at any previous time in their history. Never did parties

come before the Northern people with propositions of such undisguised contempt for the moral sentiment and the religious ideas of that people. They virtually asked them to unite in a war upon free speech, upon conscience, and to drive the Almighty Presence from the councils of the nation. Resting their platforms upon the Fugitive Slave Bill, they boldly asked the people for political power to execute the horrible and hell-black provisions of that bill. The history of that election reveals with great clearness the extent to which slavery has shot its leprous distilment through the life-blood of the nation. The party most thoroughly opposed to the cause of justice and humanity triumphed, while the party suspected of a leaning towards liberty was overwhelmingly defeated—some say, annihilated. But here is a still more important fact, illustrating the designs of the slave power. It is a fact full of meaning, that no sooner did this Democratic leading party come into power than a system of legislation was presented to the Legislatures of the Northern States designed to put the States in harmony with the Fugitive Slave Law, and the malignant bearing of the National Government towards the colored inhabitants of the country. This whole movement on the part of the States bears the evidence of having one origin, emanating from one head, and urged forward by one power. It was simultaneous, uniform, and general, and looked to one end. It was intended to put thorns under feet already bleeding, to crush a people already bowed down, to enslave a people already but half free. In a word, it was intended to discourage, dishearten, and drive the free colored people out of the country. In looking at the recent Black Law of Illinois, one is struck with its enormity. It would seem that the men who enacted that law had not only banished from their minds all sense of justice, but all sense of shame. It coolly proposes to sell the bodies and souls of the blacks to increase the intelligence and refinement of the whites; to rob every black stranger who ventures among them to increase their literary fund. While this is going on in the States, a pro-slavery Political Board of Health is established at Washington. Senators Hale, Chase and Sumner are robbed of a part of their senatorial dignity and consequence, as representing sovereign States, because they have refused to be inoculated with the slavery virus. Among the services which a Senator is expected by his State to perform are many that can only be done efficiently by Committees; and in saying to these honorable Senators, You shall not serve on the Committees of this body, the slavery party took the responsibility of robbing and insulting the States that sent them. It is an attempt at Washington to decide for the States who shall be sent to the Senate. Sir, it strikes me that this aggression on the part of the slave power did not meet at the hands of the proscribed Senators the rebuke which we had a right to expect would be administered. It seems to me that an opportunity was lost; that the great principles of senatorial equality were left undefended at a time when its vindication was sternly demanded. But it is not to the purpose of my present statement to criticise the conduct of our friends. I am persuaded that much ought to be left to the discretion of anti-slavery men in Congress, and charges of recreancy should never be made but on the most sufficient grounds. For, of all the places in the world where an anti-slavery man needs the confidence and encouragement of friends, I take Washington to be that place. Let me now call attention to the social influences which are operating and coöperating with the slavery party of the country, designed to contribute to one or all of the grand objects aimed at by that party. We see here the black man attacked in his vital interests. Prejudice and hate are excited against him. Enmity is stirred up between him and other laborers. The Irish people, warm-hearted, generous, and sympathizing with the oppressed every where when they stand on their own green island, are instantly taught on arriving in this Christian country to hate and despise the colored people. They are taught to believe that we eat the bread which of right belongs to them. The cruel lie is told the Irish that our adversity is essential to their prosperity. Sir, the Irish American will find out his mistake one day. He will find that in assuming our avocation he also has assumed our degradation. But for the present we are the sufferers. The old employments by which we have heretofore gained our livelihood are gradually, and it may be inevitably, passing into other hands. Every hour sees us elbowed out of some employment, to make room perhaps for some newly-arrived immigrants, whose hunger and color are thought to give them a title to especial favor. White men are becoming house-servants, cooks and

stewards, common laborers and flunkies to our gentry, and for aught that I see, they adjust themselves to their stations with a becoming obsequiousness. This fact proves that if we cannot rise to the whites, the whites can fall to us. Now, Sir, look once more. While the colored people are thus elbowed out of employment; while the enmity of immigrants is being excited against us; while State after State enacts laws against us; while we are hunted down like wild game, and oppressed with a general feeling of insecurity, the American Colonization Society—that old offender against the best interests, and slanderer of the colored people—awakens to new life, and vigorously presses its scheme upon the consideration of the people and the Government. New papers are started; some for the North and some for the South, and each in its tone adapting itself to its latitude. Government, State and National, is called upon for appropriations to enable the Society to send us out of the country by steam. They want steamers to carry letters and negroes to Africa. Evidently this Society looks upon our “extremity as its opportunity,” and we may expect that it will use the occasion well. It does not deplore, but glories in our misfortunes. But, Sir, I must hasten. I have thus briefly given my view of one aspect of the present condition and future prospects of the colored people of the United States. And what I have said is far from encouraging to my afflicted people. I have seen the cloud gather upon the sable brows of some who hear me. I confess the case looks black enough. Sir, I am not a hopeful man. I think I am apt even to under-calculate the benefits of the future. Yet, Sir, in this seemingly desperate case, I do not despair for my people. There is a bright side to almost every picture of this kind, and ours is no exception to the general rule. If the influences against us are strong, those for us are also strong. To the inquiry, Will our enemies prevail in the execution of their designs? in my God and in my soul I believe they *will not*. Let us look at the first object sought for by the slavery party of the country, viz., the suppression of anti-slavery discussion. They desire to suppress discussion on this subject, with a view to the peace of the slaveholder and the security of slavery. Now, Sir, neither the principal nor the subordinate objects here declared can be all gained by the slave power, and for this reason: It involves the proposition to padlock the lips of the whites, in order to secure the fetters on the limbs of the blacks. The right of speech, precious and priceless, *cannot, will not be* surrendered to slavery. Its suppression is asked for, as I have said, to give peace and security to slaveholders. Sir, that thing cannot be done. God has interposed an insuperable obstacle to any such result. “There can be *no peace*, saith my God, to the wicked.” Suppose it were possible to put down this discussion, what would it avail the guilty slaveholder, pillowed as he is upon the heaving bosoms of ruined souls? He could not have a peaceful spirit. If every anti-slavery tongue in the nation were silent; every anti-slavery organization dissolved; every anti-slavery press demolished; every anti-slavery periodical, paper, book, tract, pamphlet or what not were searched out, gathered together, deliberately burnt to ashes, and their ashes given to the four winds of heaven, still, still the slaveholder could have “*no peace*.” In every pulsation of his heart, in every throb of his life, in every glance of his eye, in the breeze that soothes and in the thunder that startles, would be waked up an accuser whose language is, “Thou art verily guilty concerning thy brother.” Oh! Sir, I can say with the poet Cowper—and I speak from observation—

“I would not have a slave to till my ground.”

Again: The prospect, Sir, of putting down this discussion is any thing but flattering at the present moment. I am unable to detect any signs of the suppression of this discussion. I certainly do not see it in this crowded assembly, nor upon this platform, nor do I see it in any direction. Why, Sir, look all over the North; look South, look at home, look abroad! Look at the whole civilized world! And what are all this vast multitude doing at this moment? Why, Sir, they are reading “UNCLE TOM’S CABIN;” and when they have read that, they will probably read “THE KEY TO UNCLE TOM’S CABIN”—a key not only to the cabin, but I believe to the slave’s darkest dungeon. A nation’s hand, with that “Key,” will unlock the slave-prison to millions. Then look at the authoress of “Uncle Tom’s Cabin.” There is nothing in her reception abroad which indicates a declension of interest in the great subject which she has done so much to unfold and illustrate. The sending of a princess on the shores of England would not have produced the

same sensation. I take it, then, that the slavery party will find this item of their programme the most difficult of execution, since it is the voice of all experience that opposition to agitation is the most successful method of promoting it. Men will write. Men will read. Men will think. Men will feel. And the result of all this is, men will speak. And it were as well to chain the lightning as to repress the moral convictions and humane promptings of enlightened human nature. Herein, Sir, is our hope. Slavery cannot bear discussion. It is a matter of darkness; and as Junius said of the character of Lord Granby, "it can only pass without censure, as it passes without observation." The second cardinal object of this party, viz.: The expatriation of the free colored people of the United States, is a very desirable one to our enemies; and we read, in the vigorous efforts making to accomplish it, an acknowledgment of our manhood, and the danger to slavery arising out of our presence. Despite the tremendous pressure brought to bear against us, the colored people are gradually increasing in wealth, in intelligence, and in respectability. Here is the secret of the Colonization scheme. It is easily seen that just in proportion to the intelligence and respectability of the free colored race at the North is their power to endanger the stability of slavery. Hence the desire to get rid of us. But, Sir, the desire is not merely to get us out of this country, but to get us at a convenient and harmless distance from slavery. And here, Sir, I think I can speak as if by authority for the free colored people of the United States. The people of this republic may commit the audacious and high-handed atrocity of driving us out of the limits of their borders. They may virtually confiscate our property; they may invade our civil and personal liberty, and render our lives intolerable burdens, so that we may be induced to leave the United States; but to compel us to go to Africa is quite another thing. Thank God, the alternative is not quite so desperate as that we must be slaves here, or go to the pestilential shores of Africa. Other and more desirable lands are open to us. We can plant ourselves at the very portals of slavery. We can hover about the Gulf of Mexico. Nearly all the isles of the Caribbean Seas bid us welcome; while the broad and fertile valleys of British Guiana, under the sway of the emancipating Queen, invite us to their treasures, and to nationality. With the Gulf of Mexico on the South, and Canada on the North, we may still keep within hearing of the wails of our enslaved people in the United States. From the isles of the sea and from the mountain-tops of South America we can watch the meandering destiny of those we have left behind. Americans should remember that there are already on this continent, and in the adjacent islands, all of 12,370,000 negroes, who only wait for the life-giving and organizing power of intelligence to mould them into one body, and into a powerful nation. The following estimate of our numbers and localities is taken from one of the able reports of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, carefully drawn up by its former Secretary, John Scoble, Esq.:

United States, -	3,650,000	Dutch Colonies, -	50,000
Brazil, - - -	4,050,000	Danish Colonies, -	45,000
Spanish Colonies, -	1,470,000	Mexico, - - -	70,000
S. American Republics, -	1,130,000	Canada, - - -	25,000
British Colonies, -	750,000		
Haiti, - - -	850,000	Total, - - -	12,370,000
French Colonies, -	270,000		

Now, Sir, it seems to me that the slavery party will gain little by driving us out of this country, unless it drives us off this continent and the adjacent islands. It seems to me that it would be after all of little advantage to slavery to have the intelligence and energy of the free colored people all concentrated in the Gulf of Mexico. Sir, I am not for going any where. I am for staying precisely where I am, in the land of my birth. But, Sir, if I must go from this country; if it is impossible to stay here, I am then for doing the next best, and that will be to go wherever I can hope to be of most service to the colored people of the United States. Americans, there is a meaning in those figures I have read. God does not permit twelve millions of his creatures to live without the notice of his eye. That this vast people are tending to one point on this continent is not without significance. All things are possible with God. Let not the colored man despair, then. Let him remember that a home, a country, a nationality, are

all attainable this side of Liberia. But for the present the colored people should stay just where they are, unless where they are compelled to leave. I have faith left yet in the wisdom and justice of the country, and it may be that there are enough left of these to save the nation. But there is a third object sought by the slavery party, namely, to render slavery a permanent system in this republic, and to make the relation of master and slave respected in every State in the Union. Neither part of this object can be accomplished. Slavery has no means within itself of perpetuation or permanence. It is a huge lie. It is of the Devil, and will go to its place. It is against nature, against progress, against improvement, and against the government of God. It cannot stand. It has an enemy in every bar of railroad iron, in every electric wire, in every improvement in navigation, in the growing intercourse of nations, in cheap postage, in the relaxation of tariffs, in common schools, in the progress of education, the spread of knowledge, in the steam engine, and in the World's Fair, now about to assemble in New-York, and in every thing that will be exhibited there. About making slavery respectable in the North, laws have been made to accomplish just that thing; the law of '50, and the law of '93. And those laws, instead of getting respect for slavery, have begot distrust and abhorrence. Congress might pass slave-laws every day in the year for all time, if each one should be followed by such publications as "Uncle Tom" and the "Key." It is not in the power of human law to make men entirely forget that the slave is a man. The freemen of the North can never be brought to look with the same feelings upon a man escaping from his claimants as upon a horse running from his owner. The slave is a man, and no slave. Now, Sir, I had more to say on the encouraging aspects of the times, but the time fails me. I will only say, in conclusion, greater is He that is for us than they that are against us; and though labor and peril beset the Anti-slavery movements, so sure as that a God of mercy and justice is enthroned above all created things, so sure will that cause gloriously triumph. [Great applause.]

At the conclusion of this able and interesting address, which was listened to with undiminished interest from the beginning to its close, the following song was sung by the vast audience, rising.

OUR COUNTRYMEN.

Tune—"From Greenland's Icy Mountains."

Our countrymen are dying
 Beneath their cankering chains;
 Full many a heart is sighing
 Where naught but slavery reigns;
 No note of joy and gladness,
 No voice with freedom's lay
 Falls on them in their sadness
 To wipe those tears away.
 Where proud Potomac dashes
 Along its northern strand,
 Where Rappahannock lashes
 Virginia's sparkling sand;
 Where Eutaw, famed in story,
 Flows swift to Santee's stream,
 There, there, in grief and gory,
 The pining slave is seen.
 And shall New-England's daughters,
 Descendants of the free,
 Beside whose far-famed waters
 Is heard sweet minstrelsy—
 Shall they, when hearts are breaking,
 And woman weeps in woe,
 Shall they, all listless waiting,
 No hearts of pity show?

No! let the shout for freedom
 Ring out a certain peal;
 Let sire and youthful maiden,
 All who have hearts to feel,
 Awake! and with the blessing
 Of Him who came to save,
 A holy, peaceful triumph
 Shall greet the kneeling slave!

The question was then taken on the resolutions, when they were unanimously adopted.

The Committee were directed to publish and circulate the Annual Report according to their discretion.

Adjourned to Thursday morning, the meeting to be held in the lecture-room of the Broadway Tabernacle.

BUSINESS MEETING.

The members of the Society met, pursuant to adjournment, in the lecture-room of the Broadway Tabernacle, May 12th, at 9 o'clock A. M. In the absence of the President and Vice-Presidents, Hon. WILLIAM JACKSON, of Massachusetts, was called to the chair.

Prayer was offered by Rev. Henry Belden.

The minutes of the last year's Business Meeting were read by Dr. McCune Smith, the Recording Secretary.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, Esq., the President, entering the room at this stage of the proceedings, took the chair, vacated by the Chairman pro tempore.

The Corresponding Secretary stated, that the only death that had occurred, within his knowledge, among the officers of the Society, the past year, was that of Dr. CAROVÉ, of Heidelberg, a gentleman of distinguished abilities and high character, who once visited this country, and whose address in the German language to the Germans of this country, was published by this Society and widely circulated several years since.

Dr. Pennington made some eulogistic remarks on the late Dr. Carové, whom he had known in Heidelberg, and met at the Peace Conventions in London, Paris, and Brussels. He concluded by moving the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society has learned with deep regret the death of Dr. CAROVÉ, of Heidelberg, and hereby record their profound esteem and respect for his high-drawn and catholic sympathies.

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the relatives of the late Dr. Carové.

Resolved, That the thanks of the Society be presented to Mr. Asahel Abbott for his acceptable and gratuitous services as organist at the Anniversary.

The Corresponding Secretary communicated a letter addressed to the Committee by Rev. Jonathan S. Green, Sandwich Islands. He also alluded to letters from Rev. D. Baldwin, of the Sandwich Islands, enclosing one hundred dollars, contributed by a congregation of converted islanders, for the publication of a tract to be printed and circulated in this country, on the Sinfulness of American Slavery. He mentioned likewise the difficulties experienced by Rev. J. G. Forman, of Massachusetts, in his congregation, owing to the opposition of some of the wealthy members in opposing his anti-slavery preaching; and his triumph over the opposition.

These communications called forth a brief discussion. After which Dr. James McCune Smith submitted the following resolution :

That we recommend to the free colored people of the free States that they shall peaceably, and by means of the law, seek their personal rights in schools, academies, colleges, public conveyances, corporate institutions, and other public advantages, in the States in which they dwell ; and that the friends of freedom be requested to aid them by funds and counsel to accomplish their purposes.

The resolution was supported by Drs. Smith and Pennington, and was adopted.

Messrs. Samuel Leeds, S. S. Jocelyn, and Martin Cheney, who had been appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, made the following report :

President.

ARTHUR TAPPAN.

Vice-Presidents.

F. JULIUS LE MOYNE and WILLIAM JAY.

Corresponding Secretary.

LEWIS TAPPAN.

Recording Secretary.

JAMES McCUNE SMITH.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM E. WHITING.

Executive Committee.—Arthur Tappan, S. S. Jocelyn, William Jay, Lewis Tappan, William E. Whiting, Joshua Leavitt, S. E. Cornish, James Warner, Alexander Macdonald, Arnold Buffum, George Whipple, Thomas Ritter, J. W. C. Pennington, E. D. Culver, D. C. Lansing, Henry Belden, A. N. Freeman, James McCune Smith, D. M. Graham, Henry Waters, Charles B. Ray, N. P. Eggleston, J. R. Barbour, J. B. Finley, and E. W. Chester.

Corresponding Members.—Joseph Sturge, George William Alexander, Samuel Bowly, Thomas Harvey, Esq., Rev. James Carlisle, D.D., and Rev. J. Howard Hinton, of England ; Professor Ackersdyke, Utrecht, Holland ; M. Isambert, Paris ; M. D'Instant, Hayti ; W. W. Anderson, Esq., Jamaica ; Rev. John Galloway, New-Brunswick ; J. H. Collins, Esq., Illinois ; Hon. S. C. Stevens, Indiana ; Hon. S. P. Chase, Ohio ; Professor C. D. Cleveland, Pennsylvania ; William Goodell, New-York ; Rev. G. W. Perkins, Connecticut ; John G. Whittier, Massachusetts ; Rev. Dr. Willis and John Scoble, Esq., of Canada ; and Thomas Jones, Esq., of Barbadoes.

The Report was adopted, and the above-mentioned persons were elected officers of the Society for the ensuing year.

The Corresponding Secretary then read a paper entitled, "OUTLINE OF EFFORT," prepared under the direction of the Executive Committee, in which enlarged efforts are contemplated, if the necessary funds can be obtained. It contemplates raising forty thousand dollars, one third of which to be paid in each of the three successive years. He said that the Outline embraced a plan for the establishment of a weekly newspaper, to be published at the

city of Washington, in the German language, and edited by Mr. Frederick Schmidt, who was present.

This announcement was received with applause.

It was moved,

That the Outline of Effort, just read, be approved by the Society, and the Executive Committee be authorized to obtain subscriptions, if possible, to the full amount named.

The Corresponding Secretary stated, that thirteen thousand and five hundred dollars had already been subscribed, on condition that at least twenty thousand dollars should be immediately raised. [Applause.]

Mr. Schmidt addressed the meeting on behalf of the newspaper contemplated at Washington, stating the number of persons in this country who read and speak the German language, and the importance of having a paper conducted on Christian principles, and advocating the Anti-slavery cause, at the seat of government.

Messrs. Jocelyn, Goodell, Smith, Graham, Leavitt, Ritter, and Cheney, severally addressed the meeting in support of the resolution, and with particular approbation of the plan of establishing a newspaper in the German language.

Rev. Ovid Miner, of Syracuse, described a plan of colportage, proposed to be carried out, and already commenced by the friends of the cause in Syracuse.

Mr. Lewis Tappan observed that the system formed part of the outline just read.

Mr. Lazar, a German, remarked, that several anti-slavery works had already been translated into the German language. Among others, he spoke of Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and remarked, that the religious tendency of the work would, he thought, do much good among his countrymen.

Rev. Mr. Gates, of Pennsylvania, described some of his labors in that State, and the prejudices that had been excited against him among the German population, on account of his making anti-slavery a part of his religious teaching.

Mr. Schmidt replied, that the German population of that State had never yet taken up the subject in its religious aspect: and he entertained great hopes that the publication of the proposed paper which he had mentioned would alter that state of things.

Mr. Leonard W. Bacon said: Of the many warm and thankful letters which Mrs. Stowe had received, most of them were from Germany. He understood that there were twenty-nine different translations in that language.

Mr. C. B. Ray regretted that "Uncle Tom's Cabin" had been used at the anniversary of the New-York Colonization Society, and he hoped something would be done to counteract the Colonization influence of that book.

The Corresponding Secretary read an extract from a note from Mrs. Stowe, to the effect that she had no sympathy with the coercive policy of the Colonization Society, but thought Liberia now a "fixed fact," and that the opportunity there afforded of sustaining a republican government of free people

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